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A HISTORY OF CHINA

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PREFACE

THE wisdom of attempting to give a sketch so brief of the history of China, a country as large as Europe, and whose story covers five thousand years, may well be questioned. Such an attempt can only be excused by the ignorance of the English-speaking public, who have interests so numerous and so immediate that few have either time or inclination to read a longer treatise. It is hoped that a fair presentation of the facts has been made and that the compressed knowledge offered will not prove more dangerous than total ignorance. It would have been a more pleasant task to ignore political history, with its encouragement to materialistic interpretation, and to limit these pages to the story of the gradual evolution of Chinese civilization, wherein the intellectual and spiritual interpretation of history finds its happier sphere; but the one without the other would be incomplete.

The Chinese are often considered to be a single nation which has lived unitedly and amicably through thousands of years, and whose civilization is the most ancient continuous civilization in the world. In point of fact, they are a complex of races of cognate type, whose unification has been proceeding, with many and serious breaks, throughout history. Nor has the unification been by consent of the people, but under autocratic dynasties, founded in almost every case, after decades, even centuries, of fighting, by the finally successful warrior.

The civilization is old and has slowly progressed, but, having received little cross-fertilization, it is neither as broad nor as highly developed as that of the West, nor is it as old or as deep. The "arrested

development" has lain in too great an isolation from other progressive influences rather than in Chinese unwillingness to change, as witness the effect of Buddhist and Indian ideas, and the more recent eagerness to supplant the old tree with a new and different one in a soil insufficiently prepared.

OXFORD, July, 1927.

PRONUNCIATION OF CHINESE SOUNDS

GENERAL RULE: English consonants and "continental" vowels.

Consonants may be, in some cases, unaspirated, as *Kin*, or aspirated as *K'in*.

Vowels are almost all long, the exceptions being the finals *in*, *ing*, *un*, *ung*—e.g., *chin*, *ling*, *tun*, *lung*.

a is always *ah*; never as in *tank*.

ai is the diphthong *ah-ee*, as in *aisle*.

ao is *ah-o*—e.g., French *Raoul*, not *cowl*.

e, as in *fern*.

ei, as in *neighbour*.

i, as in *chief*.

ia, as in *yard*.

iai, as in (m)y *eye*.

ieh, as in *liaison*.

iu, as in *new*.

ih, after *ch* and *sh* is almost a guttural *r* sound—*chr*, *shr*.

o, almost as in *könig*.

ou, as in *owe*.

u, as in *tool*.

ua, *ui*, *uo*, almost as in *war*, *wee*, *whoa*.

ü, as in French.

ŭ in *szŭ*, *tzŭ* is *sz*, *tz*, with lips almost closed.

A HISTORY OF CHINA

CHAPTER I

CHINA'S PAST

MYTH, LEGEND, AND THE DAWN OF HISTORY BEFORE 1122 B.C.

ONCE upon a time—nobody knows exactly when—on the banks of the Yellow River, where it takes its great eastward bend, a tribe rose above its fellow-tribesmen. It may have migrated from further west and wedged its way in among aboriginal tribes, or it may have been an indigenous tribe which raised itself by a touch of genius in the invention of a method of recording simple ideas. There is an old tradition that at first notched sticks and knotted cords were used, probably to record numbers. Later, as some ancient legends say, from the footprints of birds and beasts—others say from the markings on the back of a tortoise—pictorial signs were designed which gave rise to a written system.

China was then by no means an empty land. Numbers of tribes were already settled there as well as in the prairies of Mongolia and Manchuria, in Korea and Tibet. Let it not be thought that the superior tribe killed off all these wild tribes, who hunted and fished and cultivated their land in simple fashion. The superior tribe did destroy many of them, as it has continued to destroy them down to our own day, but its accretion seems to have been due more to the absorption of other tribes than to natural increase. By the superiority of its simple civilization it stretched its ruling power over the others, and nobody to-day can

find the original Chinese. They are apparently lost in the numerous tribes which now form the Chinese nation.

None of the aboriginal tribes, of whom many millions still exist in China, ever originated a system of writing. The Tibetans, Mongolians, and Manchus—all members of the Chinese nation—finally adapted other systems, some earlier, some very late in the day, systems not based on Chinese, but on Sanskrit or Syriac.

The date generally stated for the first sovereign of China is 2852 B.C., but there is folk-lore which carries us far beyond that period. For instance, we hear of *Pan-ku*, who in the course of 18,000 years chiselled out the heavens and the earth. There are legends of the vast periods of the Ten Epochs, in which we find the Nest Possessor, who made the first dwellings, and the Chinese Prometheus, who first produced fire. *Fu Hsi*, who reigned from 2852-2738 B.C. is the supposed inventor of picture writing, the Calendar, and musical instruments; also the founder of marriage, for before him children knew their mothers but not their fathers; and the first sacrificer to Heaven on Mount Tai. His wife, or sister, *Nu-kua*, or *Nu-wa*, succeeded him, and they are represented in sculpture with human bodies and intertwining serpents' tails. *Shen Nung*, the Divine Farmer (2737-2705), with the head of an ox on a human body, is the reputed father of agriculture and of the healing art. With *Huang Ti*, the Yellow Emperor (2704-2595), *Ssü-ma Ch'ien*, the first great Chinese historian of the first century B.C., begins his famous work. He is represented as reducing the tribes to order, fighting the *Hun-yu*, or Huns, the perennial enemies of China, extending his sway eastward to the ocean and southward beyond the Yangtze River, and developing astronomy for determining the Calendar in the interests of agriculture. From his day the fixing of the Calendar has been the royal prerogative. His

wife, "the Lady of Si-ling," is credited with being the first breeder of silkworms and the inventor of spinning and weaving silk.

Yao (2357-2258) and *Shun* (2258-2206), because of their moral rectitude, are rulers greatly admired by Confucius. In *Yao*'s old age a terrible flood devastated the land. After nine years' unsuccessful endeavour to reduce it he sought a successor, and *Shun*, a man of the people, was appointed. *Shun* exiled the officer who had failed to stay the flood, and appointed that officer's son, *Yü*, in his place. *Yü* succeeded, and extravagant traditions have added to his exploits. The flood was probably caused by "China's Sorrow," the Yellow River.

Yü (2205-2197) followed *Shun*, and founded the first great dynasty, styled the *Hsia* (2205-1766).

The dynastic territory ruled over by his successors was relatively small, limited chiefly to the valley of the Yellow River; but surrounding aboriginal tribes, even south of the Yangtze, recognized their supremacy. Agriculture, stock-breeding, primitive manufactures, hunting, and fishing were the chief pursuits of the people. The family was the unit and the patriarchal system the rule. The tribes, or territories, were governed by their chiefs or nobles, who were in a sort of feudal relationship to the emperor. Writing was in its infancy, and there was consequently little literature or education. The religion was one of Nature worship, which seems to have included both the object of worship and the spirit of the object. There were also elements of the projection of earthly law and government into the spiritual world, which became, in developed form, the later religion of the country. Ancestor worship and divination were practised and sacrifices offered.

Of the sixteen rulers of this dynasty after *Yü* there is little to be said: a few of them ruled wisely, others were profligate, and the infamy of the last of them, *Chieh* (1818-1766 B.C.), is proverbial. He is spoken of

as a man of immense strength, able to bend bars of metal. For the sake of a beautiful concubine he lavished the people's substance and strength on a superb palace; the trees in the gardens were hung with dainties, the lake filled with strong drink, and three thousand guests were encouraged to indulge in wild debauchery, many being drowned in the intoxicating lake, to the delectation of the ruler and his enchantress. It is said that in the fifty-first year of his reign he built an underground palace, in which he and his court gave themselves over to unbridled licence. T'ang, the Prince of Shang, took up arms against him. The nobles flocked to his standard, the emperor was defeated in battle; he fled, but was taken prisoner and confined until his death three years later. Thus has begun and ended every succeeding dynasty in China. Founded by a strong man, it has ended in a profligate or a weakling.

The Shang, or Yin, Dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.) lasted 645 years, a period which may be considered semi-historical. T'ang, the founder, was a man of noble mind. Descended from the founder of the last dynasty, he based his right to overthrow it on the Will of Heaven and the evils wrought on the people by the immoral and oppressive emperor. T'ang's action has formed a precedent through succeeding ages of the right of rebellion against an evil ruler. For four hundred years from this reign, during which seventeen emperors occupied the throne, we have little information. The capital seems to have been removed several times, and, as the nobles were masters in their own territories, the royal power was more nominal than real. The reign title of the last emperor was *Chou Hsin* (1154-1122), and his wild profligacy and incredible cruelties stirred the Duke of Chou to arouse the barons. In a sanguinary battle the tyrant was defeated.

We know something of the culture of the Shang Dynasty, and there is evidence that it had risen to an

interesting degree of artistic development, especially in the making of bronze vessels and the carving of jade. The first important book on antiquities, written in the tenth century A.D., contains illustrations of existing bronze vessels of the Shang Dynasty. And on tortoise-shells, deer's horns, and sheep's clavicles, recently unearthed in Honan, a large number of characters have been found, showing that, though Shang writing was still archaic, it had already passed from the pictorial to a conventionalized stage, and was capable of expressing abstract ideas. The characters were painted or engraved on bamboo, wood, or bone. Some of the poems found in the Book of Odes are attributed to the Shang period, and are therefore the most ancient literary remains of the nation. The surrounding tribes had been subdued, driven off, or absorbed. The original territory had been extended all the eastward length of the Yellow River to the ocean, westward to the farther edge of Shensi, northward to the regions of the present Taiyuan and Peking, and southward in places beyond the River Yangtze. These territories were divided into regions under a kind of feudal system, the lords governing their respective fiefs in patriarchal fashion, really or nominally subject to the emperor, according to his power to control them. The agricultural life had for a long period settled the people in fixed abodes and in social groups. The building of houses, baronial residences, and palaces, the spinning and weaving of silk and flax, the making of clothing, the fashioning of implements of agriculture, of the chase, and of war, the working of various metals—all were developed. Musical instruments of various kinds were in use, but of the character of the music we have no knowledge. Astronomy was studied for the sake of the Calendar and in order that the divine rulers, or Nature spirits, might receive their regular sacrifices and thus be aided or encouraged in doing their duty. Astrology and

divination were highly developed, and religion was of the very essence of imperial and baronial rule, as also of the clan and family life. The family, rather than the individual, was the unit, which is in keeping with the patriarchal system. Perhaps the height of the civilization, as well as its degradation, is best indicated by the luxury of the court of the last emperor, the profligate Chou Hsin, whose magnificent palaces are reported as the storehouses of immense riches.

CHAPTER II

FEUDALISM AND THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

THE CHOU DYNASTY (1122-255 B.C.)

THE Chou Dynasty, which lasted 868 years, the longest in the annals of the nation, is famous for the rise of the great Chinese philosophers and the birth of literature. Before its advent, foundations of culture had already been laid, and by the middle of the first millennium B.C., Confucius, Laocius, and other thinkers founded their schools. It is the renowned classical period.

When the destroyer of the Shang, *Wu Wang*, or King Wu, assumed the throne, he partitioned the empire among the barons, who had followed his fortunes, thus continuing the feudal system of the preceding dynasty.

The younger brother of the king was his able minister. To him was given the State of Lu, in Shantung, where later Confucius was born; but he is known throughout history as the Duke of Chou. His wisdom and magnanimity made him the ideal man of Confucius.

The importance of ritual to social and economic welfare was quite as fully recognized in the China of Duke Chou—and also before and ever since—as

among the other tribes and nations of the world. Religion was primarily for community welfare rather than for the individual, and morals were therefore an essential part of religion. Under Duke Chou and Confucius the springs of action—thought, motive, aim—found fresh, perhaps even new, definition. The life of emperor, of baron, and of officer continued to be regulated by detailed ceremonial, for old traditions still lingered that their actions had a significance for and influence on the community welfare; and, as in other races, the early rulers were priest-magicians, chief mediators between the community of spirits above and the community of men below.

Unhappily for theory, rulers found practice irksome, and of the thirty-five sovereigns of this dynasty, thirty of them were either self-indulgent occupants of a palace, surrounded by women and eunuchs, or feeble nonentities. It therefore need cause no surprise that the dynasty lasted so many centuries, not because of any loyalty on the part of the barons, but because of their jealousy of each other. A perpetual struggle was maintained among them, accompanied by incessant intrigue and almost constant warfare in some part of the country or another. For centuries the policy of the barons was to prevent any one of their number from becoming master of the whole. A weak sovereign was considered more to their advantage than a strong usurper. The greater barons preyed upon their weak neighbours, and, in turn, during periods of decline, became the prey of others. In consequence the number of feudal states was ever changing. From the 124 states of the earlier days of the dynasty the number had decreased to seventy-two in the days of Confucius some six centuries later. The process of absorption continued. It is, however, interesting to note that it was the border states which became the strongest; they extended their territories farther into our present-day China, and thereby increased their wealth and absorbed the indigenous population. It was the Duke

of Ch'in, in the wild west, whose origin and whose army were barbarian rather than Chinese, who ended the intrigues and wars of the barons and destroyed both them and the dynasty in 221 B.C.

For centuries the country in one part or another had been wasted, men were dragged from their fields and homes to fight wars in which they had no interest, and gaunt famine often stalked the land. The Huns and other fierce nomads harried the north, and the Tibetans the west, while most of Southern China was occupied by savages.

There were, of course, periods of peace, and also barons who sought the welfare of the masses, but the ever-renewed strife had its effect on the character of the people, and especially of the educated classes. It was a period productive of pessimism, a period when many left office and became recluses, hopeless of a remedy. The spirit of the age accounts in no small measure for the rise of the ancient Taoist philosophy of Quietism under Laocius (604 B.C.), as also for the more practical teaching of Confucius (551 B.C.). Under Duke *Huan* of Ch'i (685-643), his able minister, Kuan, greatly increased the production of salt and iron by making them state monopolies. So excellent did Chinese iron become that *Sericum ferrum* was counted the best iron as far west as Rome. The salt development also became so great that other states, and even the Huns, were dependent on it. Kuan died warning the duke against his court parasites, but in vain, for in old age the duke died miserably, his sons by his different consorts quarrelling and raging over the succession. His body remained unburied for months, when a multitude of women were buried alive with him, as was the barbarous practice down to the seventeenth century A.D. In the meantime the expansion of the border lords had now reached well to the south of the River Yangtze, and along the coast into Chekiang.

The latter part of the Chou period, though of great

importance because of the infiltration of Tartar influences, the rise of the border, or barbaric, states to power, and the modification of national characteristics through intermixture of cognate races, is politically one of the continued decadence of the central authority, and the splitting up of China into many virtually independent states or nations. It was during this period of "the Warring States" (475-221) that the famous moral and political philosopher Mencius was born (372 B.C.). Philosophic schools of various kinds arose under different leaders. Yang Chu, the Chinese Epicurean, or perhaps voluptuary and fatalist, Mo Ti (or Micius), the apostle of unstinted altruism, and Chuang Tzŭ, the brilliant and wayward follower of Laocius, are assigned to this period. Sophistry is represented by the philosopher of the Kuei-ku, or Valley of Ghosts. The State of Ch'in continued to war against the other states; in one of its battles 240,000 combatants are said to have been slain. Finally a clever intriguer, Lü Pu-wei, secured the accession to the Ch'in dukedom of a weak scion of that house, who fell in love with Lü's young and beautiful concubine. Lü, with feigned reluctance, gave her to the prince, and a son was born whose parentage is doubtful. That son was destined to become the Napoleon of China, by the gradual overthrow of the remaining barons and the unification of the empire, freed from the feudal system. The last direct scion of the Chou family died in 256 B.C.

Thus in disaster came to an end the third of the ancient great dynasties of China. It was glorious, not for its political achievements, but for the establishment of the culture which became the warp on which future ages wove their varying patterns. Of the strands spun by preceding ages, the religious, ethical, and political were assembled by Confucius and by Laocius, each choosing those which appealed to his judgment. On their choice, but chiefly on that of Confucius, has been developed the fabric of Chinese

society, its philosophy, literature, history, poetry, art, social and political organization, moral theory, and (Buddhism apart) religious observances. The followers of Laocius formed the Taoist school, whose original doctrine was that there is a Tao, or Law, eternal, infinite, undefinable, working through all things. Man's duty is to allow this Law to work naturally in and through him. To become its medium, or be Tao-possessed, he must not strive, but hold himself in a spirit of quiescence, or inactivity. Forms and ceremonies, even laws, are useless. Such a man could do most marvellous things—ride on the clouds, walk through mountains, or fly in the air. Later, Taoism lost its pristine purity and took over the agelong magical practices of the people—the placating of demons, wizardry, charms, necromancy, geomancy, alchemy, spiritualism, all the ritual needed by the people for keeping in order the vast spirit world by which they were and still are surrounded, for every phenomenon has its representative spirit, benevolent or malevolent, which must be served.

To Confucius, on the other hand, the state transcended the individual, and religious ceremonial, officially performed, was the foundation of the state. The emperor was the Son of Heaven, and sacred. He was the intermediary between his people below and the Ruler above, from whom he received his commission. The emperor, therefore, was central to everything. In his person, his sacrifices, his laws, he must be the centre of virtue. Ceremonial must be scrupulously observed. Confucius was therefore a religious and court ritualist. But ritual without morals was in vain. Consequently his ethics are of a high order. A scholar and a ritualist, his "noble man" became the ideal for China, until the revolution of 1911 shattered prince and court and drove Confucius himself into the shadows. His restraining hand has often reasserted its power over the grosser superstitions of the Taoists; and his doctrines of humanity, justice, and reverence have influenced

the whole national aspiration and been his priceless gift to the true aristocrats of China, those of his followers—not a few—to whom nobility and character have been prized above wealth or honours.

CHAPTER III

IMPERIALISM

THE CH'IN DYNASTY (255-206 B.C.)

THE most famous Duke of Ch'in, often styled the Napoleon of China, ascended the royal throne in 221 B.C. as the "First Emperor" of the Ch'in dynasty, while his son was to be "Second Emperor," and so on, in perpetuity. His greatest contribution to China consisted in the destruction of the feudal system, the unification of the whole land under a sovereign, the division into thirty-six provinces, and especially the establishment of a civil service subject to the throne. It is this system, *mutatis mutandis*, which has been the national system for 2,000 years, with many lapses. The Great Wall of China is attributed to him, but much of it had been built at various times by different northern barons to parry the ever-recurring raids of the Turkic nomads, the Huns. The Ch'in emperor, at a vast cost in human life, linked up and completed the Wall, or Mound, from the centre of Asia to the Pacific Ocean, a length of 1,500 miles. His minister, Li, was a scholar, and is the reputed author of a simplification of the ancient complex form of writing, a simplification which served as the basis for the form that 200 years later became the writing still in use to-day. But Li's "infamy" consists in his advising the emperor to blot out the political philosophies and records of the past feudal period, for thus only could the new imperial régime be established and the nation be given rest and prosperity

after its centuries of feudal warfare and disintegration. He advocated that all works, save those relating to the Calendar, divination, medicine, agriculture, should be burned. It must be remembered that in those days a book was a man's load and difficult to hide, for it might consist of hundreds of tablets of wood or bamboo, on which characters were painted with a kind of varnish. The emperor is said to have read 120 lbs. of bamboo or wooden despatches daily. Despite, therefore, the hiding away of copies, the destruction was great; four hundred and sixty opposing scholars suffered death, it is said, by being buried alive. Some of the books were, however, successfully hidden and recovered later.

It is to General Meng T'ien, the actual builder of the Great Wall, that the discovery of the camel's-hair brush, or pencil, for writing is attributed. Before his day a bamboo stylus had been used. His invention was revolutionary in its effects, for it led the way to the use of silk in place of wooden or bamboo tablets.

The emperor's dread of death led him to encourage a search for the elixir of immortality, and to consult wizards. He is said to have built the Great Wall against the Huns because his wizards foretold that the name Hu, which was also a cognomen of the Huns, was portentous to him. Again, by the forced labour of 700,000 men, he built an enormous palace with multitudes of rooms, in order that he might sleep in a different one every night, and thus escape the pursuit of malignant spirits. He died, while on a tour, after thirty-seven years of reign. His younger son, named Hu Hai, drove the heir to commit suicide, and succeeded as Second Emperor. The prognostication of the magicians, if true, that Hu was a portentous name, was fulfilled, for the new emperor estranged the people. He built for his father, at fabulous cost, an enormous mausoleum underground, and then buried alive some hundreds of his father's

concubines to serve his father in the spirit world. Accused by the chief eunuch, the minister Li was sawn asunder, and all his relatives ruthlessly destroyed. In terror of a similar fate, the chief eunuch caused the emperor to be assassinated, when the emperor's son was raised to the throne, who promptly avenged his father by the destruction of the eunuch and all his relatives. Rebellion soon reared its head. Two representatives of former states appeared. One of them slew the emperor, but after two years' fighting was in turn overcome by Liu Pang, a representative of the former feudal State of Han, who ascended the throne.

The Ch'in Dynasty, it is believed, has especially marked itself in the history of the world by giving us the name "China." For centuries it was the far western state which had been in contact with Central Asia and India, and the name of Chin seems to have been generally accepted throughout Asia for China.

CHAPTER IV

THE HAN DYNASTY

206 B.C. TO A.D. 221

THAT most of the Chinese to this day style themselves Men of Han, or Sons of Han, is the best indication of their affection for this dynasty.

The emperor, Liu Pang, who reigned as Emperor Kao (206-194 B.C.), aided by his minister, first regulated the laws and arranged the administration. He ordered the recovery of the ancient books; some were found in whole or in part, others were copied down from the memories of old men, but much was entirely lost. In 199 he had to face the northern terror of China, the Tartars. The Huns, or Western

Tartars, were the ancestors of the Turks, Mongols, Uigurs, Khirghiz, and other tribes. The Eastern Tartars, or Tungus, produced the Kins, Khitans, Manchus, and Koreans. We meet these Tartar tribes in the earliest traditions, and continue with them throughout Chinese history, for centuries dominating China or, in turn, being dominated. Their influence on the northern Chinese in racial characteristics and language is extensive.

These savage people, regardless of the Great Wall, swept into Shensi, drove back the imperial forces, and besieged a city into which the emperor had retired, whence he was only saved by a stratagem of his adviser. The rest of his days were spent chiefly in defending his northern frontier, and he finally died of a wound received in battle. His son of fourteen succeeded him, under the regency of his mother, the empress dowager. She put his half brother by another mother to death, chopped the mother to pieces, cast the pieces on a midden, and showed them to her son, whose reason was impaired by the sight. The emperor died young, and the dowager, a determined and cruel woman, continued to rule. On her death a son of the late emperor by a concubine was raised to the throne, and as King *Wen* (179-156 B.C.) is noted for his humanity. As long as he reigned, the severity of the laws was moderated by the abolishing of branding on the face, cutting off the nose, chopping off the feet, and castration; and he ordained that a criminal should bear his own punishment without its extension to the family. He sought diligently for copies of the books which had been destroyed; fought successfully against the Huns, and died mourned by his nation after twenty-three years of reign, commanding a simple burial, and but three days of national mourning instead of the customary three years. His moderation died with him.

Of the other reigns, that of the Emperor *Wu* (140-86 B.C.) deserves special mention. He was an

able and resolute ruler, but cruel and superstitious. He became the dupe of charlatan after charlatan in the pursuit of the elixir of immortality and the transmutation of metals. Through the plotting of his Taoist magicians he slew his eldest son, to whom he was deeply attached, and ordered the execution of the mother of the crown prince to prevent her, a woman, being regent after his death. His military expeditions against the Huns, and for the conquest of Korea, Kuang-tung, Kuang-si, Kuei-chou, part of Tongking, Yunnan, and Ssü-ch'uan drained the country of its wealth. To maintain his armies, he demanded an inventory of all the possessions of his people, and mulcted them of five per cent. of their value, confiscating the property of those who made false returns. Informers naturally grew apace, and finally the country arose in rebellion, which was only suppressed by slaughter. But the feature of his reign most interesting to us is the sending of General Chang Ch'ien, about 138 B.C., to persuade the Yueh-chi tribe of Indo-Scythians to return, who had migrated westward from the marauding Huns, and thus left the north-west of China unprotected. This migration began the first great westward tribal movement, which culminated in the terrible Hun invasion of Western Asia and Europe. Chang Ch'ien reached Bokhara, and is the first known envoy to bring news to China of the character of Central Asia and its people. In 104 B.C., General Li Kuang-li was sent westward as far as Ferghana to avenge the death of Chinese envoys. In this way Bactria and Afghanistan, Parthia, and Mesopotamia, and the Roman Empire became known to the Chinese Court.

Five rulers of no special note reigned from 86 B.C. to 1 B.C. With *P'ing* (A.D. 1-6) begin the machinations of the infamous minister, Wang Mang, who poisoned the youthful emperor, and first placed a child of two on the throne with himself as regent; then three years later deposed the child and usurped the throne.

Rebellion after rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed, only to plunge the country into deeper misery. It became the prey of military leaders little better than brigands, who, as in the present day, sought their own profit at whatever loss to the people. The "Red Eyebrows," for instance, numbered hundreds of thousands, and lived on the people while they fought the Usurper. He was finally overthrown by a rising which placed a scion of the royal family on the throne. The Usurper's body was cut to pieces, and his head tossed about in the market-place. After two years of chaos the new king, pleasure-loving and profligate, was dethroned, and *Kuang-wu* (A.D. 25-58), a valiant scion of the same house, succeeded. After several years of fighting he reduced his country to order. He was a humane sovereign, who again laid the foundation of the Han dynasty. From his reign it is known as the Later, or Eastern Han (A.D. 25-221). It was during his reign, in A.D. 34, that Jewish traders settled in China. Of this community a very small remnant still exists. His son succeeded as the Emperor *Ming* (A.D. 58-76). Buddhism and Buddhist images were not unknown in China, and as the result of a dream, in which he saw a "golden man," the emperor sent an embassy to India which brought back images, palm-leaf writings, and monks as translators and exponents. Though for 250 years the religion made but slow progress among the people, before the end of this dynasty 350 works, some of high value, had been translated into Chinese. The advent of Buddhism, with other forms of Indian culture, is almost the only kind of cross-fertilization which has benefited China until modern times.

Of the eleven emperors who succeeded, not one on accession had reached adult years, and most of them were infants. The government fell into the hand at worst of eunuchs, at best of ministers. One able empress-dowager was successful in expelling the Huns; another cruelly oppressed the people. General Pan

Ch'ao, in the latter half of the first century A.D., fought the Huns and extended his conquests westward as far as the Pamirs, sending his lieutenant, Kang Yin, in A.D. 97, further still to the Persian Gulf. Towards the end of the second century, the Five Ancient Classics, edited by Confucius, were first engraved on stone tablets, and became the principal subjects of examination for entrance into the official ranks; though this rule has often been in abeyance for long periods, it has always been resuscitated.

The Yellow Turbans arose at the end of the second century A.D., and in suppressing them the two detested ministers, Tung Cho and Ts'ao Ts'ao came into power. It was because the eunuchs had seized power in the palace that Tung Cho was called in, and he then exterminated the whole mass of them. Later his oppressions drove his fellow-officers to revolt. He then removed the capital from Loyang in Honan, after looting and burning it, to Hsi-an in Shensi, driving the vast population of the capital before him. Finally he was stabbed by his most trusted lieutenant, and his family and relatives were slaughtered. Ts'ao Ts'ao, who became ruler of Wei, succeeded him, a man whose tyrannies and ambitions are famed in story. On Ts'ao's decease his son put the puppet emperor to death, and assumed the royal title and power, thus ending the dynasty.

The Han Dynasty produced no sovereign of equal force of character to the Ch'in emperor, and few of any nobility, but the expansion of the empire continued until most of present-day China proper, save the south-west, was included, even Annam and Tongking becoming tributary. The ability of the people expressed itself in a developing art, as is revealed in Han pottery, jade, bronze, and ironwork; also in silk brocades and embroideries. Most commendable was the imperial encouragement given to the recovery of so many of the priceless writings grievously destroyed by the Ch'in emperor, as also

in their engraving the Confucian Classics on stone. It was the period of the first great collators, commentators, and historians, and of the fathers of the form of much subsequent poetry. The invention of the hair pencil under the Ch'in had made possible first the use of silk for writing, and then of paper consequent on the truly epoch-making discovery of the art of paper-making in A.D. 105. These inventions, and the further modification of the ancient characters to the form practically unchanged to this day, opened the way for the spread of Chinese literature from Turkestan to the Pacific Ocean and the Southern Seas. Whatever may be said of the government, the world-enriching discovery of paper would alone entitle the Han period to be styled glorious. It may be added that during this dynasty the Arabs found their way by sea to Southern China, and that in A.D. 196 envoys arrived from Marcus Aurelius.

CHAPTER V

THE AGE OF CHIVALRY AND CHAOS

THE THREE KINGDOMS AND THE TARTAR INVASION (A.D. 221-589)

IN China, as elsewhere, it is the story-teller or the troubadour who makes a period romantic. The greatest novel of China, "The Three Kingdoms," written a thousand years later, circles around the dramatis personæ of the brief period from about 190-220. This historical novel has entered into the very soul of the nation. It has invaded the dramas, the novels, the stories, the ballads, and even religion, and to it is attributed the *bushido*, or chivalry, of the Japanese.

The struggle following the demise of the Han

Dynasty ended in the partition of the country into the kingdoms of Wei, Wu, and Shu. Wei occupied the older part of China, that of the early days of the Han Dynasty, covering the country north of the Yangtze; Wu occupied the region south of the Yangtze; Shu the west, especially Ssü-ch'uan. It was the rise of the Yellow Turbans which brought forth the leading characters of this period. Three of the most famous are Liu P'ei, maker of straw shoes, but a scion of the royal family, and his comrades, Chang Fei and Kuan Yü. The "Peach-garden oath," which they took in each other's blood, was to be loyal to each other to the death, and to the Han Dynasty. The valour and fidelity of Kuan Yü were such that since 1694 he has been worshipped as Kuan Ti, the national god of war. To this trio must be added their clever strategist, Chu-ko Liang. As to the kingdom of Wu, its ruler was the skilful general, Sun Ch'uan. The ruler of Wei, Ts'ao Ts'ao, became the villain of the story. Chinese sympathy runs with the Han hero, Liu P'ei, who after much struggle became the King of Shu. This sympathy is chiefly due to his descent from an early Han monarch, and to the romance which circles round the fortunes of himself and his three friends. His son and successor, Hou Chu, made terms with Wu, but was determined to launch an attack on Wei. Having first subdued the Burmese, he attacked Wei, but was severely defeated. The death of Chu-ko Liang left King Hou Chu without competent adviser. He gave himself up to enjoyment, neglected his duties, listened only to the advice of a eunuch and a Taoist priest, and left his ablest general unsupported. Attacked in his capital, in cowardice he surrendered his country and himself, going with his hands tied behind his back and accompanied by his coffin to the camp of his daring enemy.

The descendants of Ts'ao Ts'ao, according to rule, degenerated in ability. They fell into the hands of

General Sz-ma, whose son succeeded him, clever, unscrupulous, and merciless. The Sz-ma family finally secured the throne, founding the *Western Tsin* Dynasty (262-317). Its first emperor, *Wu* (265-290), united China again by overcoming the southern kingdom of Wu, but soon gave himself up to self-indulgence, and disorder followed. During his reign an envoy from the Roman emperor is reported to have reached his Court. Towards the end of his rule the Eastern Huns seriously troubled the north, and under his son the empire was ravaged north-east and north-west, while anarchy reigned within. The latter's brother and successor was taken prisoner, treated as a slave, and later put to death. Another brother, Emperor *Min* (313-317), saw the empire become a prey to warring generals and to invading barbarians. He, too, was captured by the Huns, treated as a slave, and murdered. The Huns now dominated Northern China, leaving only the south to the Chinese.

The Tsin Dynasty continued its rule in the south until 420. During the 155 years of its reign its fifteen emperors lived through a period of incessant warfare. It presents as sordid a period of intrigue and massacre as the world has ever known. The same statement is true of the north and the west, which formed the greater part of China, and was the cockpit of conflicting Tartar rulers. Millions upon millions perished in or from unceasing warfare. One bright spot is the advent of a Tartar ruler, who in 397 established the House of Toba, ruling over the northern kingdom of Wei. By organizing a civil administration and by the encouragement of learning, he built, on the foundation laid by China, the civilization of his barbarous people. The Toba House at first severely persecuted Buddhism, but later were its great supporters, and through them it was finally established in China.

When the Tsin Dynasty was overthrown and the

Sung Dynasty (420-479) set up, there were seven kingdoms in China, of which six were under Tartar rulers. The Sung emperor attacked the Tobas, but in reprisal the Tobas overran six provinces, massacring, with fiendish glee, men, women, and children. During the same period the Tartar Attila, the "Scourge of God," ravaged half of Asia and slaughtered across most of Europe. In all, eight rulers of the Sung reigned, four of whom were murdered. The *Ch'i* Dynasty (479-592) followed the Sung with five rulers, two of whom were murdered. The *Liang* Dynasty (502-557) followed with five rulers, of whom three were murdered. Its founder struggled to recover the north, and vast numbers were slain without success. He became a devout Buddhist, and did for that religion in the south what the Tobas did in the north, finally established it among the people. He built 13,000 temples, sent for monks from India, was so strict a vegetarian that he even forbade the weaving or embroidering of living creatures on cloth, because the tailor's shears would cut through them. He also forbade the use of animal sacrifices, so that Confucius, the ancestors, and the gods during his reign were perforce vegetarians. He is described as a man of distinguished character and noble presence, a scholar, soldier, statesman, and monk. The *Ch'én* Dynasty (557-589) succeeded with four rulers, the last of whom, profligate and debauched, fell a prisoner to General Yang Chien, who founded the Sui dynasty, and again unified China. For 367 years the division between the Tartars in the north and the Chinese in the south existed. The Tartars arrived in China barbarians; within four centuries they ceased to be nomads, lost their language, and were absorbed by the higher civilization of the lettered Chinese, albeit not without influence on both the language and the character of the north.

Despite the sufferings of this period from sword and famine, when war between Tartar and Chinese,

or internal dissension and slaughter, filled more time than did peace, the genius of the people struggled for expression. Not only did the demand for armour and weapons of war stimulate the artificers in metal and wood, but the luxury of courts and mansions required the skill of builders, of iron, gold, and silversmiths, of decorators and artists, and of makers of silks and embroideries. Remains of these and of the literature of the period give proof of the progress made. The most notable advance, however, was connected with religion, for Buddhism obtained its hold on the Tartar domain, and also somewhat later on that of the Chinese rulers. In the latter it had to contend more seriously with Confucism and Taoism. The Wei or Toba period is that of the great development of sculpture, in which Grecian influence is first seen. The colossal rock carvings of this period at Yun kang in Shansi and Lung mên in Honan remain to this day. Of even greater importance was the translation by Kumarajiva and other Indian monks of Buddhist books from Sanskrit into Chinese. At the close of this period it is said that the Buddhist library exceeded that of the Confucian. Nor can we neglect perhaps the most remarkable development of all, the beginning of those pilgrimages of such Chinese Buddhists as Fa Hsien, in 399, to India, which by their records have added so greatly to our knowledge of the India of those days.

The arrival in China of the Indian patriarch Bodhidharma, in 526, initiated the Chan, or Meditative School, whose teaching was that the cultivation of the heart by meditation, or the inner light, was the only true religion, a school which has powerfully influenced Buddhism throughout China, Korea, and Japan. The Amidist school, still the most popular in the land and in Japan, was founded in Northern China in the fourth century; its chief doctrine is the worship of Amitabha, the Buddha of the Western Paradise. On the whole the north of China under

the "barbarians" seems to have been more progressive than the south, but even there the active progressive forces were Chinese rather than Tartar.

CHAPTER VI

REUNIFICATION

THE SUI DYNASTY (589-618)

ONCE more a soldier carved his way to the throne. By 586 the Northern Chou Dynasty had destroyed its northern rivals and unified the north. Yang Chien, its generalissimo, was made Duke of Sui. Later he brushed aside the child emperor, gathered the reins of power into his own strong hands, invaded the south, destroyed its dissolute ruler, and after crushing his rivals, reigned over a united China. Apart from the customary precaution of blotting out the preceding royal families, he was a worthy ruler, passionate and tyrannical, but generous. He and his heir were murdered by his second son, who succeeded as *Yang Ti* (605-617). Studious, clever, luxurious, he squandered treasure and life without stint. Immense palaces, huge parks, lakes and islands, trees that must always bloom, naturally or with silken flowers and leaves, thousands of court ladies and their attendants, every conceivable gratification were his delight. He linked his capital with the Yangtze by joining various rivers into a great canal, lining it with stone embankments, and 30,000 "dragon boats" carried him and his entourage on royal visitations. Whole districts were denuded of birds to supply his followers with gay feathers. He led an army of 305,000 against Korea, of whom only 2,700 returned. Rebellion after rebellion was crushed, but the oppressed people were moody with hatred. His ablest general, Li Yuan of Shansi, revolted with the emperor's own officers, and Li Yuan founded the great T'ang Dynasty. But the villainies

of Yang Ti cannot rob his father of the glory of reuniting China after nearly four centuries of disruption, of Tartar rule and of incalculable suffering.

CHAPTER VII

EXPANSION AND POETRY

THE T'ANG DYNASTY (618-907)

LI YUAN reigned as *Kao Tsu* (618-627). That those who remained of the late royal house were not butchered is an indication of his character. Buddhist monasteries had offered an asylum to so enormous a number of the devout, the destitute, and the indolent that a veritable army of monks and nuns was ordered back to civil life. Guided by the advice of his able son, Li Shih-min, the emperor began to reorganize the country, overcame his numerous rivals for power, and fostered education. His son ascended the throne as *T'ai Tsung* (627-650), and became probably the greatest monarch in China's history. With meagre forces he had captured for his father the royal sceptre, subdued powerful rivals, and established the throne. He now greatly expanded his territory by the conquest of barbarian neighbours, welcomed to his court at Ch'ang-an (now Hsi-an, in Shensi) visitors from all nations and provided for them; instituted a system of government which remained the model till our day; fostered learning; founded a royal library of 200,000 manuscript books; encouraged trade and international relations, and died leaving a domain unequalled till then in extent, power, or culture. His queen, a woman of noble character and his wise adviser, had induced him to send to their homes 3,000 women of the royal seraglio, thus freeing them from the luxurious imprisonment of the palace and on her death she begged that she be decked in no jewels for her burial, but be laid with a tile for her pillow and pins of wood in her hair. He

built a lookout in his palace from which he might gaze on her hillside grave.

Christianity was first introduced by Syrian missionaries in 635. The emperor generously provided a monastery for their twenty-one priests, as is recorded on the Nestorian tablet of the eighth century, still existing. His tolerance brought to his court representatives of other cults and envoys from many nations. Never had such a variety of languages or dress been known at the Chinese capital.

His eldest son, having conspired against his life, was exiled, and his ninth son succeeded as *Kao Tsung* (650-684). Having seen in a Buddhist temple a concubine of his late father, he took her into his own harem. Soon she dominated him, murdered the child she bore him, charged the empress with the crime, and came into power as the notorious Empress *Wu*. The late empress and another rival she threw into a dungeon, then chopped off their hands and feet, cast the two alive into tubs of spirits, and gloated over their dying agony. It was woe to all who opposed her, but by employing only statesmen of ability she became a successful ruler. Korea was conquered, and the Khitans and Tibetans (Turfans) were expelled. She died at eighty-one, having dominated China for fifty years and maintained its integrity. During the reign of Huan Tsung (713-756), the famous Han Lin Academy, the "Plume Grove" or "Forest of Pencils," was founded. Later, he fell under the influence of an evil counsellor, Li Lin-fu, who weakened the northern garrisons, and thus opened the way for further Tartar invasion and the ultimate destruction of the dynasty. When sixty-three years of age he became enamoured of one of the most famous beauties of history, Yang Kuei Fei. She was the concubine of one of his sons, but ignoring all decorum, the elderly king took her into his own seraglio, where she became supreme. Her brother became Prime Minister, and so imperilled the life of a powerful minister, An Lu-shan, that he re-

volted, whereupon the emperor and court fled the capital. On the road their bodyguard mutinied and demanded the Prime Minister's head. That being yielded, the head of Yang Kuei Fei was demanded. The king, to save his own useless life, again yielded, and soon afterwards abdicated in favour of one of his numerous progeny, who reigned as *Su Tsung* (756-763). In the meantime An Lu-shan had massacred the seraglio and all loyal families, and sacked Ch'ang-an, the capital. All China was in tumult. A loyal general, Kuo Tzŭ-i, with the aid of Turfans and Uigurs, recovered the capital and restored Su Tsung. In the reign of *Tê Tsung* (780-805) we find the first mention of tea as a taxable commodity, reasonable evidence that tea now began to come into use as a beverage. In time it transformed the Chinese, as it is now transforming the Americans and the English, into a sober people.

Rebellion finally drove Tê Tsung to flight, when most of the royal family perished. Later he abdicated in favour of a son, *Hsien Tsung* (806-821), whose credulity in receiving, with great pomp, a supposed finger-bone of the Buddha, brought forth a brilliant memorial in protest from Han Wên-kung, the greatest scholar of his age. The elixir of immortality drove the king into fits of ungovernable temper, in which he ordered the execution of some of his chief eunuchs. The rest, in fear, accelerated his departure to the immortals. His successor died from the elixir, and the heir of the latter was in turn stabbed to death by an aggrieved eunuch. *Wên Tsung* (827-841), dominated by the eunuchs, made an attempt at freedom, when they killed the chief ministers and 1,600 of their people, and a reign of terror in the capital resulted. His brother, *Wu Tsung* (841-847), in 845 suppressed Buddhist monasteries, persecuted the religion, and Nestorian Christianity probably succumbed at this time. He also indulged in the elixir and died, as for the same reason did his successor, *Hsüan Tsung* (847-860). His son, *I Tsung* (860-874),

was cruel and credulous. While murdering with one hand he welcomed a "bone of Buddha" with the other. On a daughter dying he executed the twenty attendant doctors and 300 of their families. His son of twelve followed as *Hsi Tsung* (874-889). Rebellion and brigandage marked his reign. The capital was attacked by a rebel, Huang Ch'ao, the king fled and the royal family was massacred. The king called the Turcomans to his aid, whose black garments gave them the name of "The Crows." Under their leader, Li K'o-yung, the rebellion was suppressed after eight millions of the people had perished. The eunuchs again obtained control, as they did of his brother and successor, *Chao Tsung* (889-905). When drunk, this emperor killed several of his women; the eunuchs thereupon confined him in an iron-bound room. General Chu Wên came and rescued him after hard fighting, most of the eunuchs being slain. Chu soon ordered some of his men to kill the emperor, and when that was done, to ensure their silence, he immediately executed them. *Chao Hsuan*, fourteen years old, whose nine brothers Chu had murdered, reigned in name for two years, when this coarse and brutal man ascended the throne.

Of the eighteen sovereigns of this dynasty three abdicated, only eight died a natural death, the rest were murdered or died from the elixir. Nevertheless, the glory of T'ai Tsung, the virtual founder of the dynasty, cannot be dimmed by his long line of decadent successors. To this day the southerners are proud to call themselves "Men of T'ang."

Though the territory had expanded, civil strife is said to have reduced the population from fifty to twenty-two millions. There were, of course, periods of peace and prosperity. Some of the emperors encouraged scholarship. Most of them sought for objects of art, for skilled products, and for luxuries of every kind. Pictorial art was greatly developed, with Wu Tao-tzŭ as its greatest exponent. Writing

was also developed into a fine art. Porcelain began its early development. Sculpture and modelling received an impetus from Græco-Bactrian importations, especially under the ægis of Buddhism, which religion extended its artistic and cultural influence throughout the land. It was during this period that the Chinese monk Hsüan Tsung made his journey to India in 629, returning in 645, and brought back large quantities of the Buddhist canon for translation into Chinese. Many Sanskrit originals have entirely disappeared, and are only known in their Chinese translations. The literary style of the Confucianist, Han Wên-kung, has been copied down to the present day. Chia Tan, following the rules of P'ei Hsiu of the third century A.D., produced his map of the world according to details obtained from the numerous pilgrims and tribute-bearers who came to court. Above all, it was during the T'ang period that poetry found its great expression. There are still in existence nearly 50,000 poems of this period. Li Po, Tu Fu, Han Wên-kung, Po Chü-i, and many others have bequeathed to posterity poetry which is the literary glory of the nation. Finally, it was during this period that Japan and Korea from the East, and Annam and other nations from the south, sent envoys to seek the culture of China on which to build their own civilization.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIVE SHORT DYNASTIES

(907-960)

CHU WEN founded the *Liang* Dynasty (907-923). He was murdered by one of his sons, who declared himself emperor, but was in turn attacked and committed suicide. The dynasty was soon overthrown by the Turcoman Li, son of Li K'o-yung of "The Crows,"

who founded the *Later T'ang* (923-936). He and his brother who succeeded him were, for the time being, victorious over the invading Kitan hordes. But the outstanding event of this period, worldwide in its beneficent influence, was the invention, or public introduction, of the art of printing. As a result of this great discovery the Buddhist and Confucian Classics were all soon printed from wooden blocks. The luxury of court life demoralized the Turcoman emperor. He surrounded himself with play-actors, who finally rose against him and killed him. One of his generals, a Turcoman, followed, but on his death another general, anticipating a plot by the next ruler for his destruction, sought the aid of the Kitans, overcame him, and founded the *Later Tsin* Dynasty (936-947). The new emperor had to address the Kitan king as "Father" and pay him huge tribute, which further impoverished the people. In 936 the Kitans established themselves in Liaotung as the Liao, or "Iron," Dynasty, and adopted the Chinese system of government. On the second Tsin ruler massacring all the Kitans in his territory, their hordes poured into China, ravaging and looting. The emperor finally submitted, going to their camp with all his family tied with ropes. They were exiled to Tartary. The Kitans withdrew, and one of the Tsin generals was raised to the throne founding the *Later Han* Dynasty (947-951). His son succeeded, sent his ablest general, Kuo Wei, against the invading Kitans, then murdered his chief ministers, and sent orders for General Kuo to commit suicide. Kuo's soldiers instead raised him to the throne, and he soon afterwards slew the emperor.

The *Later Chou* Dynasty (951-960) was thus founded by a common soldier, who, though illiterate, had a profound reverence for Confucian learning. His son, *Shih Tsung* (954-960), proved an able monarch, but died leaving a seven-year-old son as successor. A general, Chao K'uang-yin, was now sent against the

invading Kitans. But at "The Bridge of Chên" Chao was roused from sleep, still heavy with drink, wrapped by his officers in the yellow imperial robe, and hailed as emperor by the cries of his soldiers. Thus came into existence the Sung Dynasty.

Three of these "five dynasties" were under Turcoman rule, and it is questionable whether the other two founders were really Chinese. The area over which the imperial writ ran was chiefly north of the Yangtze and entirely dependent on the will and power of provincial rulers, and during this troubled period of fifty years the country, for the most part, was in a state of confusion.

CHAPTER IX

CHINESE AND TARTARS: HISTORIANS, PHILOSOPHERS, ESSAYISTS

THE SUNG DYNASTY (960-1280)

THE founder, who reigned as *T'ai Tsu* (960-976) was a native of the north, and reputedly of Chinese ancestry. He proved to be a humane, generous, and wise ruler, but much of his energy was directed to subduing rivals and repelling the Kitan Tartars. His humanity is shown in his kindness to the deposed child emperor and the royal family; he did not kill them. His brother and the latter's son, *Chên Tsung*, continued the struggle against the Kitans, who, from now onwards, became increasingly aggressive. They harassed *Jên Tsung* (1023-1064), as did the Tanguts on the north-west. This reign, however, is most notable for the rise of Sung scholarship. Seldom, if ever, had the court seen such a galaxy of scholarly statesmen and warriors. What the T'ang poets did for poetry, these men did for prose literature. That the conscription of one son in every family with three sons

only numbered 156,000, is an indication either of the smallness of the population or the limited extent of the throne's effective authority.

The reign of *Shên Tsung* (1068-1086) is notable for the famous "communistic" experiments of the minister Wang An-shih. He was a very clever man, who "wore dirty clothes and did not even wash his face." Opposed by the best statesmen of the day, he yet gained the boy emperor's ear, and was allowed to exercise his destructive talents. After founding a Board of Statistics to tabulate everything relating to the land and agriculture, he commenced his doctrinaire legislation, which *inter alia* was as follows:

(1) *The Nationalization of Commerce*.—Taxes were to be paid in kind and all surplus commodities were to be bought, transported, and sold by the Government. The inevitable corruption was worse than the avarice of the rich or of the trader.

(2) *State Loans*.—These were made to needy farmers at 33·3 per cent. to be repaid at harvest. Later the loans were made compulsory on all. The people groaned under oppressive collectors.

(3) *Conscription*.—Every family with more than one son must place one at the State's disposal. Self-mutilation increased to an alarming extent.

(4) *Income Tax* was levied on owners of property of every kind. Correct returns were ensured by sharing all undeclared property between the State and the informers. Informers swarmed and prospered.

Drought gave warning of Heaven's displeasure. "Not at all," sagely replied Wang; "natural phenomena are the result of natural laws and have no relation to moral action." But the plight of the people, what with the tax-gatherer and self-mutilation, caused so much disaffection that the emperor was led to suspend the taxation, whereupon generous rains fell. Wang's legislation died with or soon after him, after laying the foundation of Sung ruin. The Tanguts slew 200,000 of a Chinese army sent against them. In

1111 another Tartar menace arose in the advent of the Kin (or Chin) Tartars. Returning for a moment to the Kitans, who have already been frequently mentioned, it may be remarked that their territory was in the present Manchuria. They first appeared as sporadic raiders about 480 A.D., but in the tenth century their tribes were united into a nation by Apaoki, and for long held possession of part of Northern China, with their capital first at Liao-yang, later at Peking. It is through early Russian contact with the Kitans that we receive the name of Kitai, or Cathay, for China. A branch of the same race, the Nüchên Tartars, were for long subservient to the Kitans, but under Akuta they threw off the yoke, smote their former masters, and founded the Kin, or "Golden" Dynasty, as superior to the Liao, or "Iron" Dynasty—*i.e.*, the Kitan.

In 1111 the Emperor Hui Tsung made an alliance with the Kins to drive away the Kitans, in order that he might recover the lost Sung territory. The Kitans were defeated, but the Kins seized the territory. Hui Tsung thereupon sought an alliance with the defeated Kitans to drive out the Kins, but the Kitans were overthrown, and the Kins then turned their forces against the Sung emperor. Their ruthless, intrepid cavalry pressed on to the rich Sung capital, which was at K'ai-fêng in Honan. Hui Tsung fled south to Nanking, and soon abdicated in favour of his son *Ch'in Tsung* (1126). The enemy ravaged a wide extent of country, went home laden with loot, came back in the winter, besieged the capital, to which Hui Tsung had returned, and carried him off, along with Emperor Ch'in and three thousand of the royal household, into a captivity from which he and they never returned. A ninth son of Hui succeeded as *Kao Tsung* (1127-1163). Driven to the south of the Yangtze, fleeing to Hangchow and then Wenchow, his reign begins the period of the Southern Sung, when all China was for 150 years again divided, the north ruled by Tartars, the

south by Chinese, after which, for still another ninety years, the whole was united under Tartar domination. The century which now follows is a record of struggle, of devastation and slaughter, when vast numbers of soldiers and people perished.

In 1135 a new foe of the Kins arose in the Mongols, who harried them and the north of China for over a century before finally destroying both Kin and Sung in a common downfall. Meanwhile the Kins followed the usual course of the Tartar conqueror in yielding to the educating influence of Chinese scholars. Devoid of a written system, they bowed before the might of the pen. Their sovereigns adopted Chinese learning and institutions, and some among them proved to be men of lofty and generous mind. As to the south, under *Hsiao Tsung* (1163-1190), the policy of diplomacy took the place of war, and the Tartar ruler manifested a similar generous spirit. *Kuang Tsung* (1190-1195) was dominated by his queen; because he was attracted by a concubine who brought him his wash-bowl, she next day sent him a eunuch with a salver, on which were the severed hands of the unfortunate woman. Her intervention in affairs of state brought about his abdication. His son of twenty-seven reigned as *Ning Tsung* (1195-1225). Amidst the disturbances of this period there were devoted ministers, officials, and scholars. With the aid of the engraver's art and the printer's skill—centuries before printing was introduced into Europe—scholars were pursuing their task of enlightenment. The greatest among them, Chu Hsi, died in 1200. His voluminous commentaries on the Confucian Classics have been the standard interpretation ever since his day, as his philosophical and literary treatises have been the orthodoxy of China. The Mongols carried their raids against the Kins deeper and deeper into Northern China, with terrible suffering to the stricken people. The Kins, under impotent rulers, quarrelled among themselves and some of their leaders, disgusted, threw in their

lot with the Mongols, who captured the Kin capital, filled with millions of refugees and enormous wealth. The Mongol chief ordered the customary total massacre and loot, but was dissuaded by his famous counsellor Yeh-lu-chu-tsai, a Kitan by origin, who secured the extraordinary leniency of plunder without massacre, by urging that the people would produce more wealth for the Mongols alive than dead. In 1233 the Kin emperor died fighting bravely against both Mongols and Chinese. His captured generals were taken by the Chinese to Hangchow and offered in sacrifice before the imperial Sung tablets. With great rejoicing the Sung recovered K'ai-fêng, Lo-yang, and other cities, lost to them for over a century, but soon their armies were flying before the Mongol hordes. The Mongol ruler, Ogotai, advised by Yeh-lu-chu-tsai, instead of making a wilderness of his newly acquired Chinese territory, as the Mongols had done of Western Asia and Eastern Europe, began to put it in order, and 4,030 Chinese scholars, who had served the Kins, now transferred their allegiance to the Mongols and obtained official posts. In 1264 the new Grand Khan, Kublai, established Peking as the capital, which he had laid out in magnificent style.

In 1268, Kublai planned his campaign against the Sung, and the official murder by them of his peace envoys only intensified his resolve. The boy emperor was captured and sent into exile. His two brothers were saved and carried south to Wenchow, the elder, eight years old, being proclaimed as *Tuan Tsung* (1276-1278). Bravely did loyal officers strive to support his tottering throne. Driven further southwards to Foochow, then by sea to Canton, his ship was wrecked, and he only escaped a watery grave to die of his exposure. His younger brother, *Ti Ping* (1278-1280), blockaded in an island harbour, was gallantly defended by loyal men, and when the day was lost, the noble commander first drove his wife and family overboard, and then, with the boy emperor on his

back, followed them into the deep. A hundred thousand corpses are said to have strewn the waters.

Thus ended the Sung Dynasty, renowned less for its emperors than for its statesmen and soldiers, less for its success against China's ancient foes, the Tartars, than for its scholars. These have left behind a legacy of literature that will be treasured for all time. The names of historians, philosophers, commentators, essayists, poets are writ high on the scroll of their country. Though books were first printed immediately before the foundation of this dynasty, it was during its existence, and notably south of the Yangtze, that the great writers existed and their books were published. Education was fostered and academies for students encouraged. The growing artistic taste still further stimulated the skill of workers in gold, silver, and the metals, in wood, textiles, and other materials. The manufacture of porcelain underwent a notable development. Pictorial art reached its zenith as also did the art of writing, engraving, and printing Chinese characters. The constant demands of war produced improved weapons and armour; the ballista for throwing stones was introduced, and fire-arms and cannons came into use in the twelfth century; ship-building for river and seafaring purposes also received an impetus, consequent chiefly on the requirements of naval warfare and transport. The population is computed at sixty millions. A still larger number perished from war, and its accompanying famine and pestilence. Territorially the Chinese nation, viewed as a whole, expanded. Though the northern half came under Tartar rule, the Chinese cultural influence became dominant. The Tartar invaders, savage in warfare, ruthless where life and plunder were concerned, with the manners of a nomad people, and devoid of a literature and written system, nevertheless fell under the taming influence of the superior Chinese civilization. The Tartar court, at first barbaric and brutal, led the way for its people in the refinement of manners

and the encouragement of education. There was again a widespread intermixture of the races in the north, which produced further changes in the language and in the character of the people. In the south and west the spread of Chinese education, manners, and ideals, amongst people of varied descent, led to extensive cultural changes along the maritime provinces, as well as through the central provinces to Canton, and even as far south as Annam. Westward much of Ssü-ch'uan and parts of Yunnan also came under Chinese leadership. It was in 751 that the Arabs learned the art of paper-making from certain Chinese prisoners they took, but it was only towards the end of the Sung Dynasty that this art was carried by the Moors from Africa to Spain. The sea-route from the West to Canton was maintained by the Arabs throughout the dynasty, but the expansion of Islam for long stretched a barrier across Western Asia impassable for the people of Europe; Russians alone had contact with China, but they were as yet an unwelded number of rival states.

CHAPTER X

THE MONGOLS

THE YUAN DYNASTY (1280-1368)

THE Mongols took their rise in the mountainous regions south-east of Lake Baikal, now part of Siberia. They were probably descendants of the Huns, and, if so, Attila, "the Scourge of God," who in the fifth century of our era swept with his massacring hordes almost from the Pacific to the Atlantic, was of the same race as Jenghiz Khan, born in 1162, whom now we meet. Mongol means "brave man," and the tribe began its bold struggle for mastery over the Golden Horde in 1135, under the father of Jenghiz. On the father's death, the mother of her

thirteen-year-old son was driven to raise the tribal ensign in her son's behalf, and while still a youth, after enduring great hardships, he hurled his 13,000 men against the 30,000 tribesmen who were opposing him, subdued them, and with the ferocity which stamped his career threw their leaders alive into eighty cauldrons of boiling water. By 1206 he had become master over the Tartars in what is now Mongolia, and was proclaimed Grand Khan. From his new capital at Karakoram he sent his fierce riders into Northern China, and by 1213 had shaken the security of the Kin throne. He then swept into Western and Southern Asia as far as Asia Minor and the banks of the Indus. Later his hordes carried death and destruction into Russia and Eastern Europe, leaving behind across Asia and part of Europe uncountable corpses, and the ruins of great cities, razed level with the ground. He is at once in extent the greatest conqueror in history, and at the same time the most horrible and destructive. His conquests have not a single redeeming quality, though some good resulted; for instance, the land route, barred by Islam, was for a time opened between Europe and China. By 1227, when he died, his generals had extended his power over part of Northern China, no longer as a raider but as a ruler. To his four sons he divided his vast empire. The two Western Khans again ravaged Western Asia and half of Europe. The Eastern Khans, Ogotai and Tuli, pursued the conquest of China. Ogotai was the Grand Khan, and when he died in 1241 after a drunken debauch, the Kin Dynasty had been destroyed, and the attack on the Sung begun. His widow acted as regent for five years after Kuyuk, his eldest son, succeeded. Kuyuk died two years later, and his queen was regent till Mangu, the eldest son of Tu-li, succeeded in 1251. Mangu appointed his brother Kublai to subjugate Honan, he himself attacking in Shensi. In 1259 he died in Ssü-ch'uan, and his body was transported to

Karakoram, every living being met on the way being slaughtered, as was the Mongol custom. Meanwhile, Kublai's forces had successfully crossed the Yangtze, but on the death of his brother he made terms with the Sung emperor and transported his armies to defend his rights in Karakoram. During his absence his garrisons were treacherously attacked by the Sung generalissimo, and Kublai determined to avenge the act as soon as his succession was settled. His brother Arikbuga had usurped the throne, but Kublai and his troops overcame him on reaching Karakoram. The brother was forgiven, his advisers executed, and Kublai's accession as Grand Khan acknowledged in 1261. As already stated, it was Kublai who planned and built Peking, called by the Mongols Khanbalig (Cambuluc), city of the Khan. Educated and advised by a Chinese scholar, his tastes were Chinese, and Peking attracted him as nearer to Chinese civilization than the wilds of Karakoram, while it also possessed a somewhat similar type of country and climate.

By Kublai's conquest of the Sung Dynasty he reached the highest position in the world, for he became emperor of all China, as he was already the Grand Khan of the Mongols and of most of Asia. Not content with his immense empire, he brought the Koreans to acknowledge his authority, and sent envoys to Japan demanding its submission. In 1274 his armada of 900 vessels, with 250,000 Tartar and 15,000 Korean troops, was repulsed by the Japanese, and immediately destroyed by a terrible typhoon. In 1281 another force of 100,000 was despatched, when 30,000 Mongols were massacred and 70,000 Koreans and Chinese reduced to slavery. One of the greatest public works of his reign was the construction or completion of the Grand Canal, 1,000 miles long, which connects Hangchow with Tientsin. He also sent a Commission to study the sources and course of the Yellow River in order to remedy as far as possible its recurring floods.

Kublai was one of the most enlightened monarchs who have ruled China. He welcomed to his court men of all races. In religion his predilections were Buddhist. On the death of his son, a man well qualified to succeed his father, he employed 40,000 monks to conduct the funeral services. He was, however, tolerant towards all other religions, except Taoism, which indeed had long been the stronghold of magic and witchcraft. He ordered its books to be burnt, all save the *Tao Te Ching*, but paper books were now easier to hide than bamboo tablets. Keeping a magnificent court, he conciliated the educated Chinese by his love for literature, and the people by the liberality of his Government and the encouragement of industry and trade. During his reign Western traders and missionaries lived in Peking. Among the Venetian traders were the two Polo brothers, and a son, Marco Polo. Arriving in 1271, the boy Marco greatly pleased Kublai, and was especially favoured. He lived in China for seventeen years, was made a Chinese mandarin, travelled over much of the country, acted as escort to a royal princess sent as wife to a Persian Khan, reached Venice in 1295, fought the Genoese in a ship of his own providing in 1298, was taken prisoner, and while in captivity dictated the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, veritably epoch-making, which first made known the facts of China to Europe, but which for long was treated as a "traveller's tale." The first missionary of the Western Church reached Peking in 1292 or 1293, where he was received by Kublai just before he died in 1294 at eighty years of age. Kublai's grandson Timur succeeded as *Ch'êng Tsung* (1295-1308), and was followed by a nephew as *Wu Tsung* (1308-1312), whose brother succeeded as *Jen Tsung* (1312-1321). In three generations the fierceness of his forefathers had died down. He was a scholar, and tender-hearted enough to sorrow deeply when duty compelled him to sign a death-warrant. His son followed as *Ying Tsung*

(1321-1324), but was murdered by corrupt officials, whom he planned to bring to justice. They placed on the throne a great-grandson of Kublai as *Tai Ting Ti* (1324-1329), who soon after put the murderers to death. *Ming Tsung* (1329-1330), son of Ying Tsung, was killed by his brother, who acceded as *Wên Tsung* (1330-1333), and the Mongol Dynasty was now well on the down grade.

Shun Ti (1333-1368), an unworthy scion of a virile ancestor, succeeded and handed the empire over to an unscrupulous Mongol prime minister, Bayan. By the time that Bayan was finally removed, rebellion had begun to rear its head in various places. The coast was harried by a pirate chief, Fang Kuo-chên, who aimed at driving out the Mongols and becoming emperor. Rebel leaders rose one after another with varying success, until in 1355 a Chinese, Chu Yüan-chang, became the leader of the most efficient body. His is one of the most romantic stories in the annals of China. When he was seventeen his whole family perished from the plague. In his desolation he became a Buddhist monk. Some years afterwards he doffed the cassock for the casque and joined himself to one of the principal rebels to drive the Mongol from the land. On his death Chu took command and was joined by other powerful rebels. He captured Nanking in 1355, and made it his chief centre. Rebellion under various leaders spread in province after province. The Mongols also fought furiously among themselves. As to Chu, he proved to be a statesman as well as a soldier. The pirate Fang was induced to place himself and his navy at Chu's disposal. In 1363 Chu was compelled to fight a tremendous but successful battle against his chief Chinese rival, who threatened him with 600,000 troops, and a huge armada. In 1367 he accepted the royal title as Emperor Hung Wu. Marching on the capital, his victorious general, Su T'a, found only a demoralized foe and a cowardly Mongol emperor, who fled in the

darkness of the night towards the wilds, whence his fearless ancestors had set forth on their world conquest. Thus ended Mongol rule in China, its virility speedily sapped by the luxuries of a Chinese court.

The Mongol conquest, so far as China is concerned, is notable for its difficult and prolonged character. Both Chinese armies and Kins offered a brave resistance to the mighty foe. Satiated with killing, the Eastern Khans turned towards Buddhism, the religion of placidity, which exaggerates the value of all sentient life. They became its supporters, and, inviting the Grand Lama of Tibet to visit their court, adopted his degraded form of the religion for all the Mongol people. During the 650 years of its influence, while it has helped to tame Mongol fury, it has done little for intellectual or spiritual development.

During this period traders or missionaries found their way to China. The Polos have already been mentioned. John of Monte Corvino became the Apostle to the Mongols, arriving in Peking in 1292 or 1293. His sole companion died on the way. Friar Arnold joined him nine years later. In 1307 seven colleagues were sent, three died on the way, a fourth returned, and three only reached Peking. Odoric left Padua by sea in 1318, and found at every port Nestorians as the only representatives of Christianity in Asia. In Peking the Nestorians long resented the advent of the Roman branch. In all, some tens of European missionaries reached China, and had considerable success, but their ministrations were seemingly to Mongols and Occidentals, for Christianity disappeared with the expulsion of the Mongols.

The chief effect of the Mongol conquest on China was the reunification of the empire, the order it produced, the reasonably good government that for a time it gave, the extension of its territory, and indeed the practical creation of the China of the last 650 years. The demands of the Tartars for entertainment in lieu of fighting led to the development of the

drama and fiction. China's greatest historical romance was written during this period. Music also underwent considerable change, and generally the stimulus of other forms of civilization was felt, though it is uncertain to what extent they influenced the people. So far as the West is concerned, the matter of greatest moment was the knowledge of China, which was conveyed to Europe, a knowledge which stimulated Columbus and the other great discoverers to seek a way to the East.

CHAPTER XI

A CHINESE DYNASTY

THE MING, OR ILLUSTRIOUS (1368-1644)

T'ai Tsu, or Hung Wu, (1368-1399), made Nanking his capital. He strove for the reform of the civil service, and though himself uneducated, promoted education, by encouraging the establishment of schools in the cities and towns, but it must always be borne in mind that the number of scholars was comparatively small, for 97 per cent. of the people then, as now, were illiterate. Through a Commission he endeavoured to simplify the administration of justice by codifying the laws, reducing them to 606 in number. The loss of his queen in 1382 and of his scholar-general, Su T'a, in 1385, was irreparable. Towards the end of his reign, his ambitious son, the Prince of Yen, so played upon his jealousy that he put to death without trial or justification fourteen of his most eminent officers, in one case the whole clan of fifteen thousand men and women being massacred at the same time.

During the greater part of his reign his generals were still engaged in fighting the Mongols, who re-

turned to the fray from time to time with large forces. A revolt in Yunnan was crushed by an army of 300,000 Chinese; and a revolt of the Burmese with the loss to them of 40,000 of their forces. The Japanese raided the coast, but the Chinese fleet pursued them as far as the Loochoo Islands, and captured a number of their vessels. The emperor, when dying, left his throne to a grandson of sixteen, and forbade his sons to come into the capital to his funeral, fearing conflict among them.

Hui Ti (1399-1403) was too young to bear the burden. Prince Yen was stirred to revolt. With 40,000 men he defeated a royal army of 300,000, and again of 600,000 with terrible loss. Three years of civil war and its devastation followed. Nanking was taken, and the palace fired, the queen and many others perishing in the flames. The loyalists and all their relatives were butchered. A noble minister, who refused to draw up an edict announcing Prince Yen's accession, was executed with 873 of his relatives. The young emperor escaped in the robes of a Buddhist monk, left for such a crisis by his grandfather, and was only discovered thirty years later through some verses he wrote.

Ch'êng Tsu, or Yung Lo, Prince of Yen (1403-1425), notwithstanding his cruelty, proved an able ruler. Within his empire he maintained peace, despite a rebellious brother and a violent son. Marauding Mongols were driven off, and he himself led half a million men into their territory. Japanese raiders on sea and shore were fought and overcome. Tongking was invaded, and its thirty million inhabitants were added to his rule, but regained their independence in the next reign, while still acknowledging China as overlord. In all these wars multitudes perished, but happily for China, the Mongol Tamerlane, who had piled up mountains of skulls, in Western Asia, died in 1405, and his plan of sweeping through China with fire and sword was thwarted. The present

Peking is Yung Lo's, for, before making it his capital in 1421, he greatly enlarged the city of Kublai Khan and adorned it with fine altars and temples to heaven, earth, and other objects of worship. His interest in learning is shown by his magnificent *Encyclopædia* in 11,095 manuscript volumes, containing 22,937 treatises, with a table of contents in 60 vols. In 1900 the Boxers fired the Academy, where the remains of this *Encyclopædia* were housed, and only a few tens of volumes were saved by the energy of one or two Englishmen. Yung Lo proscribed Buddhism and ordered the burning of Taoist books.

His reign is notable for its embassies abroad. In 1403 he sent envoys to Java, Sumatra, Siam, and Bengal. In 1405 he sent Ch'êng Ho, an able eunuch, with a fleet of sixty-two ships, said to carry 37,000 men, with "presents" of silk and gold to Cochinchina, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, Siam, and elsewhere, all of which countries were expected to send "tribute" in return. In 1408 Ch'êng Ho was again sent, and reached Ceylon, whence he carried the "king" and his family as prisoners to China. Malacca also became "tributary." Aden was reached in 1422 and 1431, when China's naval enterprise came to an end, just before that of Europe began.

Under *Hsuan Tsung* (1426-1436), bronze, lacquer, and porcelain reach a high state of perfection. His successor, *Ying Tsung* (1436-1465), was taken by the eunuch Wang Chên, along with half a million men, against the Mongols, who routed his army with a death-roll of over 100,000. Wang was killed and the emperor carried into captivity. Ransom was demanded and eight waggon loads sent; the Mongols kept both treasure and emperor, but sent him back next year. In the meantime his brother, *Ching Ti* (1450-1457), had acceded, and refused to abdicate. Amidst many disturbances the scholars of the empire were always busy. They now produced an exhaustive description of the Ming empire in ninety volumes, styled the

I T'ung Chih. When the preceding Ming emperors died, a number of their concubines had been buried alive in their tombs. Ying Tsung, who had regained the throne, ordered that none of his should endure this dreadful death. Under *Hsiao Tsung* (1488-1506), the Ming Dynasty reached its zenith. Peace and prosperity reigned in the land. In the meantime Marco Polo's book had done good work in making known to Europe the fame of China. Columbus and Cabot set off in search of it; instead, they discovered America, Columbus mistaking it for Champa, which was to the south of China. Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape and reached India. Hsiao's son of fifteen succeeded as *Wu Tsung* (1506-1522). A eunuch, Liu Chin, controlled the Government and executed all opponents, even the highest ministers. Risings followed; Liu was destroyed, and his immense treasure confiscated. The people in their hate tore his flesh from his bones and gnawed it. Again the emperor succumbed to a panderer to his vicious pleasures. Risings were suppressed with great loss of life.

The first of the European traders who were destined to link East with West now arrived by sea. The Portuguese Alvarez, who had made friends of Chinese traders in Malacca, set out for China in 1514, but only reached an island on the southern coast. In 1516, Rafael Perestrello, a relative of Columbus, first reached the mainland. In 1517 Ferdinand Andrade, with Tomé Pirez, carrying letters from the King of Portugal, followed. Pirez went to Nanking, Andrade returned to Malacca. Andrade's brother, Simon, set out for China in 1519, but soon roused the anger of the Chinese by his atrocious conduct. Two more Portuguese trading flotillas arrived in 1520, were ordered away, and, on refusing to go, were attacked, some of their ships being burnt and prisoners taken. Pirez, meanwhile, proceeded to Peking, reaching it in 1521. He was, however, sent away, and perished in Canton. All but five of his staff and of the above-

mentioned prisoners died there of torture, hunger, or disease.

Shih Tsung (1522-1567), a grandson of Hsien Tsung, was faced with insurrections in several provinces, and Mongol inroads carried desolation deep into the north. He had also to resist serious raids of the Japanese who, being refused trading privileges, harried the coast, sometimes with several hundred vessels. The Chinese massacred the Portuguese at Ningpo; 800 perished, and their ships were burnt. Their Ch'uan-chou settlement in Fukien similarly suffered; but in 1550 they secured a permanent footing at Macao, in the Canton River, and there Camoens, the father of Portuguese literature, wrote much of his *Lusiad*. *Wan Li* (1573-1620) reigned under an unworthy regent. The aborigines in Canton province were goaded into rebellion, and 40,000 of them slain. The Nü-chih, or Nüchen Tartars (related to the Kins), now appear. In 1583, Nurhachu, founder of the Manchu Dynasty, began his career of revenge against the Mings for supporting the murderer of his father and grandfather. In 1592, the Japanese also, under their famous Tycoon Hideyoshi, overran Korea and invaded China. After years of fighting they were driven back, but later the war was resumed with great slaughter. In one battle 38,700 Chinese and Koreans were slain, whose ears and noses were pickled, sent to Kyoto, and a mound raised over them, called the "Ear Mound." The death of Hideyoshi in 1598 resulted in a treaty of peace. For the third time Christianity was introduced into China. In 1579 PP. Ruggiero and Pasio founded the first station in Canton province. Matteo Ricci landed in 1583, and in 1601 reached Peking. By his presents he pleased the emperor, and his knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, geography, and other sciences opened his way into the imperial service, and won the confidence of high ministers and scholars, some of whom became Christians. Ricci

later obtained permission for missionaries to settle in important centres. He died in 1610, having led the way for a succession of able Jesuit scholars and the establishment of Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans in various parts of the empire. In 1602, the 800 Spaniards in the Philippines, fearing a rising of the Chinese, massacred 20,000 of them, and repeated the crime in 1639. By 1619 the Manchus, under Nurhachu, had conquered Manchuria, having defeated both Chinese and Mongol armies, and were invading Liao-tung. In 1627, Nurhachu's son and successor, T'ai Tsung, conquered Korea, but was repulsed by the Chinese at Ning Yuan with cannon, some obtained from the Portuguese, some made by the Jesuits. But in the palace the eunuchs were again in control, and rebellions had broken out in the provinces. With the last of the Mings, *Chuang Lieh Ti* (1628-1644), came the end of a line of weak rulers.

The English, under Captain Weddell, arrived in Canton in 1637, were fired on by the Chinese at Portuguese instigation; in defence, returned the fire with vigour and sailed away. Peter Mundy wrote a valuable account of this voyage. In the same year other English ships sailed for Macao, and in 1643 the *Hind* also visited that part.

It was the great revolt within China itself that overturned the Chinese throne and restored Tartar rule. Rebellion broke out in Honan and Shensi in 1630, and for fourteen years the country was ravaged by rebels and imperial armies. Li, the principal rebel leader, deliberately broke the Yellow River dam to flood K'ai-fêng city, when over a million people perished. By 1644 he was strong enough to proclaim himself emperor. On his march to Peking, fortified towns were handed over to him without a blow. A Chinese general in charge of one of the Peking gates turned traitor and opened it to the rebels. The emperor, who had refused to flee, ascended Prospect Hill in the palace grounds, wrote a pathetic message

in his own blood on his garment, and hanged himself, as did also his faithful eunuch Wang. Li now took possession.

In the meantime the Chinese general, Wu San-kuei, had been defending the frontier against the Tartars, but was hastening to respond to his emperor's call when he heard of his death. His own father now wrote begging him to save the lives of his family by submitting to Li. Reluctantly he had assented, when he heard that his favourite concubine had been carried off by the rebels. Indignantly revoking his assent, he marched back to the Great Wall at Shan-hai-kuan and wrote his famous letter inviting the Manchus to help him in expelling the rebels. Terms were made. Meanwhile, Li advanced against Wu with 200,000 men, and led forth the son of the late Ming emperor and Wu's father, who implored him to submit. Wu steeled his heart, refusing to serve such a rebel, whereupon his father was slain before his eyes, and the fierce issue was joined. While it was still in doubt, the Manchus hurled their armoured cavalry into the fray; Li's army was mown down, and he fled to Peking, where he massacred all the royal household and also the Wu family, collected his immense booty, and set out westward. Wu pursued, and after eight great defeats Li fled to the mountains with only twenty men. Their brutal treatment roused some villagers to attack them, when the emperor of a day and his companions were hacked to death with farmers' hoes.

The Ming Dynasty, like its predecessors, began with a strong man, but its vitality was soon sapped by the luxury of court life, eunuchs playing a wretched part in its intrigues. Few men of noble character were produced, regents reigned in the name of children, and with two helpless boys the dynasty closed in death to millions and continental suffering.

During the Ming period, while the learned class were more than ever stereotyped as clerks, or pedants,

there were some not entirely devoid of the creative spirit. One of the most outstanding was Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528), who founded the idealistic school of modern Confucianism. The Ming was a period of great literary production, if not of great literature. Pictorial art was very highly developed, and 1,200 names of able artists are recorded. The perfection of Ming porcelain commands the admiration of the connoisseur, and Ming bronzes have not been surpassed in China. Cloisonné began to be made towards the close of the dynasty. Public works of importance were undertaken locally by the officials and people. It is probable that most of the canals which intersect the south of China were constructed or improved during this dynasty, as also many city walls. In no sense did China stand still. The progress may have been slow, as was progress in the West over long periods. This was less due to conservatism than to lack of new dynamic ideas. Ricci found Chinese scholars in Peking with understanding of mathematics, and the elements of such other sciences as he possessed, and ready to adopt the developments he brought. He presented, *inter alia*, the first map of the world in Chinese, a photograph of which has recently been brought to this country. He discovered the existence of an ancient Jewish colony in China. In 1625 the famous Nestorian tablet was also discovered, giving valuable evidence of the first known introduction of Christianity. The examination system for degrees, and thereby for the civil service, took the form that it afterwards maintained with little change for over 500 years, the subjects of examination being the Confucian classics with their historical, political, and moral teaching, and the extensive commentaries and literature upon them, together with poetic composition. Good though the study of the humanities was, it tended to stereotype form and fetter the mind with orthodoxy. The Ming was the period, more or less infertile, of scholasticism.

CHAPTER XII

ZENITH AND DECLINE

THE CHING, OR MANCHU—*i.e.*, PURE—DYNASTY
(1644-1912)

ONCE again a Tartar sat upon the throne of China, and he a child of six—*Shun Chih* (1644-1662). His uncle, Durgan, the regent, was a soldier and a statesman, and laid well the foundations of the dynasty. Seven years later Durgan died while on a hunting expedition, after planning to ascend the throne on his return. The central control had been vested in a Grand Council, consisting of two Manchus and two Chinese. The Six Boards, the most ancient administrative organ of the nation, were continued. In all the higher posts the two races shared equality of appointment; in the lower, eighty or ninety per cent. were always Chinese.

The north, already sufficiently stunned and despoiled, was not difficult to conciliate. But in the south a Ming emperor was proclaimed by a loyal minister, Shih K'o-fa. Defeated at Yang-chou on the Yangtze, the city fell, the inhabitants were massacred, it was burned to the ground, and K'o-fa perished. Nanking was next taken; the Ming emperor, chiefly concerned over the difficulty of finding a good actor, was awakened from a drunken sleep to make his escape, but was captured and executed. Other heirs were set up and bravely defended by better men, but in vain.

The Manchu custom of wearing the queue, or "pigtail," was imposed on all Chinese. As to the women's fashion of foot-binding, unknown among the Manchus, it was declaimed against, but the Chinese women—and men—were left to their curious and forbidding taste for the woman's crippled foot.

Throughout the dynasty the Manchus remained a separate people, under their own laws and institutions; intermarriage with Chinese was forbidden, as also was trade, for as the Manchus must maintain their virility as soldiers, they lived, like the Romans, in military colonies in the provincial capitals and elsewhere.

English ships reached Canton in 1658 and 1664, but official exactions made trade impossible.

The young emperor died in 1662, and his second son, only eight years of age, ascended as *K'ang Hsi* (1662-1723) under a regency. What T'ai Tsung was to the T'ang, such K'ang Hsi became to the Ch'ing Dynasty. Humane in his government, his tolerance of all religions is shown in his graciousness to the Jesuits. Under his father they had been employed at court, with Adam Schaal as astronomer. But his regents had thrown Schaal into prison, where he died, seventy-eight years of age. Two years after the emperor had taken over the government the accuracy of the Calendar prepared for the following year was in doubt. The Jesuit, Verbiest, who had shared imprisonment with Schaal, so proved his superiority over the court astronomers that they were dismissed, and Verbiest was made President of the Board.

In 1674, General Wu San-kuei, who now had princely rank and the governorship of the west, fearing that his power was about to be curbed, revolted with two other prince generals. Terrible civil war followed, and it was not till 1681, after Wu's death, that peace was restored after widespread carnage. From 1680-1696 prolonged war against Galdan in the north-west resulted in the annexation of most of Turkestan, and the beginning of the protectorate over Tibet. The first treaty with a European Power—Russia—was made in 1689 at Nertchinsk, and in it the law of extra-territoriality, already practised by the Manchus, is first introduced. In 1727 the boundaries of Eastern Siberia were fixed, with the Amur as the dividing line, but trade was not allowed within the

frontier. In the south there was trade with Europe at Canton and one or two other ports. Tea was first brought to England from Japan in 1615, with its Northern Chinese name of "cha," but in 1660 it came direct with its Southern Chinese name of "tay." The English in 1699 secured a footing at Canton, which remained the only trading port till 1842; all attempts to trade in other ports were prevented, not by the people, but by the officials.

Verbiest, with whom the emperor was on amicable terms, succeeded in obtaining a decree of toleration for Christianity in 1692, which permitted Jesuits and their rivals, the Dominicans and Franciscans, to settle in various parts of the country. Success seemed assured when the "term" controversy arose. The Jesuits used the term "T'ien," or "Heaven," for "God," and sanctioned ancestor worship. The others were opposed to both. When the opinion of the emperor was sought, he sided with the Jesuits. Appeal was made to the Pope, who, after many years of debate, decided against the emperor. Irritated that a distant foreign potentate should give orders within his empire, in 1716 the emperor ordered the withdrawal of all missionaries save those specially sanctioned by him.

Under K'ang Hsi's encouragement the foundation was laid of the dynasty's wealth of literary achievement. The Imperial Dictionary, containing 44,439 characters, with sounds, meanings, and illustrative phrases historically arranged, is still the national standard. Encyclopædias, including the great *Tu Shu Chih Ch'êng* in 1,628 volumes, and many other books, were printed by a specially prepared fount of 250,000 movable copper type. The Jesuits were commissioned to produce a great map of the empire, and on their work all subsequent maps have been formed. Porcelain, bronze, lacquer, cloisonné, and carving in jade, ivory, and other materials prospered. Peace stimulated the fundamental industry of agriculture everywhere, other industries and trade followed, and

the population greatly increased. Public works of utility were undertaken, and probably the roads, canals, and sanitation equalled those of Europe at that time, as did also the laws, administration, education, industry, and art. No Shakespeare, Bacon, Newton, Galileo, or Columbus appeared, but in general the literature was equal to that of Western scholasticism. The West, however, developed not merely the utilities of science, but the scientific mind, with its wealth of ideas for the artist, poet, and writer. K'ang Hsi died, leaving the greatest contemporary empire in the world, in the combination of extent, ordered government, and culture. His fourth son succeeded as *Yung Ch'êng* (1722-1736). As the late emperor left more than one hundred sons and grandsons, filial piety required the reinforcement of prison for some and vigorous measures for others, in order to insure obedience. The Buddhist monks of the north-west desert, and also the western aborigines, caused trouble, tens of thousands being slain. Secret societies now began their plotting, sources of later trouble. The emperor, for pardonable reasons, was opposed equally to the Roman priests and to foreign trade. He again proscribed Christianity, destroyed 300 Christian altars, ordered the expulsion of all missionaries, save those in Government service, and 300,000 converts were left to their own resources, not always the worst thing for religion. *Yung Ch'êng* was a tireless worker, just, humane, and generous to his people, and a devoted patron of learning.

Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796), his fourth son, succeeded. As a scholar and ruler he was able and resolute. The two generals who had failed to suppress the aborigines were recalled and executed, according to rule. Their successor succeeded, but failed in a later expedition also procured his execution. In 1746 ferment in the north-west required repression, and after the extinction of ninety per cent. of the population—forty per cent. died of smallpox—an enormous area in Central Asia was added to the empire. Of political importance was

the war in Tibet and Nepal against the Gurkhas, begun by a Gurkha raid in 1790. It would need an epic to do justice to the march of the Chinese army over impossible Tibetan mountains to the outskirts of the Gurkha capital. There terms were made, and the Gurkhas became "tributary" to China. Burma was invaded in 1768 in reprisal for raids, and succumbed, agreeing to pay "tribute." In 1788 Cochin China was invaded to restore its dethroned monarch. The large Chinese army was severely defeated, but reinforcements succeeded, and China's overlordship was confirmed. In 1786 a strong Chinese force swept rebellion from Formosa with fire and sword.

Foreign trade was confined to Canton, where English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, Americans, and others did their business. In 1759, Mr. Flint proceeded north and petitioned the throne for better regulation of trade, freed from unauthorized exactions. His temerity led to his expulsion from the country, to the beheading of the Chinese writer of the petition, to the dismissal of the Chinese Superintendent of Trade for his extortions and to the English merchants being shamefully whipped. No Chinese might teach a foreigner his language on pain of death. An English gunner, who accidentally killed a Chinese while firing a salute, was handed over to Chinese justice and executed. To seek some reasonable regulation of trade, Captain Cathcart was sent out in 1788, but the *Vestul* was lost with all hands. Lord Macartney followed in 1792. He was escorted from Tientsin to Peking with flags announcing him as bringing "tribute." Though handsomely received, he accomplished nothing. Neither did the Dutch next year. The people were everywhere desirous to trade; the Government alone opposed. In 1773 the Pope suppressed the Jesuits. In 1784, Ch'ien Lung suppressed the Catholics; many European priests were imprisoned, some of whom were martyred, others died the death natural to a Chinese prison.

In 1796, Ch'ien Lung abdicated, dying three years later. His people, now protected for 150 years as never before in their history, had increased enormously in numbers, wealth, and culture; 300,000,000 people owned his sway, and tens of millions his overlordship. Never had one man in history ruled over an area so great, containing a population so vast, enjoying the prosperity of peace. A scholar himself and a voluminous writer of poetry, he encouraged learning, not least by combing the empire for every book of repute. With these he formed a magnificent manuscript library of 36,000 volumes, all written by the hands of skilled penmen, and still housed in a beautiful building in the palace. Belles-lettres, art, architecture, the arts, industry, trade, agriculture, administration, education, all prospered during this glorious reign.

Chia Ch'ing (1796-1821), a son, succeeded, and with him began the usual dynastic decline. Peace, with its increase of population, especially urban, to the limit of the known means of subsistence, began to menace the nation. Secret societies spread their sinister influence among a people devoid of freedom of speech or of a newspaper, which few could have read. The Buddhist "White Lily" Society was suppressed with vigour, between 20,000 and 30,000 being executed, though not necessarily guilty, while officials waxed rich on the persecution, and the monarch remained self-indulgent and self-satisfied. In 1805 those Catholic priests who had secretly returned were expelled, imprisoned, or executed. In 1807 arrived Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary sent by the London Missionary Society. Being prevented from evangelization, he devoted his unique talents to the study of Chinese; by his great dictionary and his translation of the Bible he well and truly laid the foundation on which his successors have built.

Lord Amherst was sent to Peking in 1816 to endeavour to secure reasonable trading regulations, for

expanding trade brought with it possibilities of serious friction. He was met with the demand to "kotow," literally "knock head," or kneel with forehead touching the ground. As by this act Lord Amherst would have acknowledged the emperor as overlord of his country, he had to make it clear that the kotow was impossible. Conveyed to the Summer Palace, he arrived at daybreak, dishevelled and in advance of his baggage, but was at once ordered by the officials into the royal presence. Feeling that such an entry would be undignified, he asked for delay. The unwelcome visitor was thereupon misrepresented to the emperor and turned away with contumely.

Tao Kuang (1821-1851) cleared the court of his father's troops of actors, but the universal tide of official corruption required a greater energy than he possessed. In 1825, Turkestan revolted from official oppression under Jehangir, as did the Miao aborigines of Yunnan, and the people of Formosa and Hainan; all were mercilessly crushed. But the outstanding event was the first war with England. British envoys and East India Company officers had struggled in vain to secure a treaty for regularizing the growing trade. As long as the balance of trade required the import of silver it was to the advantage of China. With the increased demand for opium, the balance became adverse. Moreover, the smoking of opium was spreading deleteriously, the rich smoking the foreign import from India, Persia, and Turkey, the poor the native product, equally deleterious. From time to time edicts had been issued against the trade and equally ignored. Chinese buyers knew how to make the trade profitable to their officials, and as to the foreign importers, they were there for gain. After the prohibition edicts, the East India Company did not itself import the drug, nor did the leading English merchants; but British subjects from India and men of many nationalities plied a lucrative trade. In 1834 the charter of the East India Company came to an end,

and the British Government could no longer shirk its own responsibilities in India and the East. Lord Napier, a man of fine character, was sent to Canton, where his credentials were disdainfully refused, and he was ordered away. On his delaying, the unhealthy ghetto to which foreigners were confined was surrounded by the Viceroy's troops, business was stopped, Chinese employes withdrawn, and supplies cut off. After months of humiliation, Lord Napier was taken ill and died. The embargo was thereupon removed. Captain Elliot succeeded him, and sought approach to the Viceroy, but "barbarian" intercourse with Chinese officials was again contemptuously refused. In 1838 the Government in Peking, after prolonged and divided counsels concerning total prohibition or legalized control, finally decided on prohibition. Commissioner Lin, a determined prohibitionist, was sent to Canton. Lord Napier's successor, Captain Elliot, would readily have co-operated so far as the British were concerned; or, if Lin had suppressed the dishonourable native opium ring of officials and merchants, no foreign opposition would have been possible. Instead he threw the blame on to the British alone, and demanded from Captain Elliot all the stocks of opium owned by foreigners of every nationality, placing on the British entire responsibility for any further imports. The whole of the opium was delivered, Captain Elliot making his Government responsible for £2,500,000 to all importers of all nations. The opium was destroyed, and, of course, the market price went up inordinately. Lin now demanded sixteen British hostages against the arrival of more opium. Elliot could not accede, for some of the merchants were innocent of the trade, ships of many nations with opium on board were on the high seas, and the lives of the hostages would be at stake. The tiny foreign trading settlement was again blockaded, and only after six weeks of misery did Elliot obtain passports for his people to leave for Macao. Later, on being

imperilled there, the whole British community—men, women, and children—sailed away to a tiny fishing village called Hong-Kong, where, after resisting armed attacks and undergoing severe hardships, they settled. It is now the third or fourth seaport of the world.

If tea was the cause of America's War of Independence, and Serajevo of the Great War, then opium was the cause of war with China. It is, however, clear that in all three cases the real cause lay deeper. In China it lay in imperial disdain, perhaps even fear, of the "barbarian," an insulting term officially and always used. It was neither to force opium nor trade on China that the war of 1842 was fought, for it should be self-evident that to "force" either on unwilling buyers is impossible. The war was fought to obtain national recognition on terms of reasonable equality. It ended in the Treaty of Nanking, by which Hong-Kong was ceded to the British and five ports were opened to trade. America and other nations immediately followed Britain's lead.

Hsien Feng (1851-1862), a son of nineteen, who succeeded, was a weak youth in the hands of a court party, all equally ignorant, incompetent, and prejudiced. One of them nine years earlier had executed 180 British prisoners of war. The period is one of disaster internally and externally. The T'ai-p'ing, or Long-haired Rebellion, broke out in 1850. It arose out of an attempt to crush a native development of Christianity. A convert of the literary class, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, unconnected with any foreign church, obtained a considerable following. Official repression drove them into self-defence, further repression into open insurrection. They swept northward, then down the Yangtze, taking city after city. Nanking fell to them, and even Peking was threatened. Hung proclaimed himself king, and then abandoned himself to the luxuries of his court. For fourteen years civil strife reigned. Two Americans, Ward and Burgevine, were

succeeded by Colonel Gordon, in assisting the imperial troops to victory. In excesses there was little to choose between rebels and imperial armies. The fairest provinces were devastated, the finest cities destroyed, and at least twenty millions of people exterminated.

In 1856 the Chinese Commissioner, Yeh, at Canton seized the lorch *Arrow*, hauled down the British flag, and carried off the Chinese crew. His attitude was considered to be a repudiation of the Nanking Treaty, and, after the failure of prolonged negotiations, England and France united to compel its fulfilment. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were sent out. At Singapore, Lord Elgin received urgent news from Lord Canning of the Sepoy Mutiny, and wisely diverted his valuable forces to India's assistance. Fresh detachments arriving, the Taku forts near Tientsin were finally taken, and a new treaty made at Tientsin in 1858. Next year, when Lord Elgin's brother, Sir Frederick Bruce, went out as the first minister to Peking, he found the river barred and the forts formidable. Two British gunboats were sunk, with serious loss. In consequence Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were again sent out in 1860 and fought their way to Peking. The treaty was ratified, and the court at last gave its reluctant recognition to foreign ministers. Russia also obtained the only eastern seaboard province possessed by Manchuria, in reward for the unnecessary "mediation" of General Ignatieff, who was then in Peking. One of the notable events of this reign was the establishment in Shanghai by the British, French, and American Consuls of the Maritime Customs. Its success was so pronounced that early in the following reign (Sir) Robert Hart and his staff were invited to Peking and became servants of the Chinese Government in the control of external Customs. The six-year-old son of Hsien Feng succeeded as *T'ung Chih* (1862-1875). The two empresses-dowagers were joint regents, but it was his mother who soon dominated everybody by her iron

will and became the famous Empress-Dowager. His reign saw the end of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, which was followed by the ruthless suppression and massacre of millions of Mohammedans in the north-western provinces and Central Asia. On the death of T'ung-chih the empress-dowager promptly staged another *coup d'état* and placed his nephew, a child, on the throne as *Kuang Hsü* (1875-1908). Until the Boxer outbreak in 1900 the country was fairly peaceful, the south slowly recovering from the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, and the north-west from that of the Mohammedans.

In 1882, China sought to neutralize Japanese influence in Korea by throwing it open to the world, but in 1885 both Chinese and Japanese forces landed in the country, and war was only prevented by a treaty pledging both nations not to land troops there without due notice to the other. In June, 1885, France compelled China to withdraw entirely from Tongking. In 1894, because of a revolt against the King of Korea, China sent there 2,000 men at his request, and then sent notice to Japan. The Japanese, warned of this procedure, and before receiving the notice, promptly sent 10,000 men to Korea. War resulted, during which the Chinese fleet was sunk or surrendered. The war was carried into Manchuria, the fortress of Port Arthur was taken, and the Treaty of Shimonoseki resulted. By this treaty Korea was declared independent, the Liao-tung peninsula, Formosa, and the Pescadores were ceded to Japan, more trading ports were opened, and an indemnity was fixed. On Russia, Germany, and France protesting against the cession of the Liao-tung peninsula, it was waived for an increase of the indemnity. Russia for reward obtained the right to build her railway through Manchuria to Vladivostok and Port Arthur. The French also obtained rights of railway construction on their Tongking frontier, and Germany railway and mining rights in Shantung. In 1897 two German Catholic missionaries were murdered in Shantung. France had

heretofore "protected" all Catholic missionaries. Now Germany claimed the right over German subjects, and occupied Kiao-chao in Shantung. This did not suit Russia's policy in Manchuria and the north, so Port Arthur and Talien-wan were leased from China, whereupon Britain accepted responsibility for Wei-hai-wei on a twenty-five years' lease and also acquired a defensive circuit around Hong-Kong; the French obtained a lease of Kuang-chow Bay, and even the Italians demanded but were refused San-mên Bay. "Spheres of influence" were blocked out, Russia claiming Manchuria to Japan's annoyance, Germany Shantung and North China, Britain the Yangtze Valley, Japan Fukien, France the southern borders of Yunnan; the "melon" seemed nearing division.

In 1898 the Cantonese reformer, K'ang Yu-wei obtained the ear of the emperor, supported by the Prime Minister, Wêng T'ung-ho, and others. Unless China were reformed, her collapse seemed to them imminent. Edict after edict was thereupon issued, perhaps with unnecessary haste, changing the systems of government and education. The country would have accepted the reforms, for the scholars generally were sympathetic. But the mistake was made of plotting to seize the empress-dowager, in fear of her leading the reactionary party. She moved first, seized the emperor and the reins of power, executed a number of reformers, and, in repealing the edicts, tore down the last supports of the shaken throne. It never bore the emperor again, and the weight of a child broke it down.

In 1899 the Boxers, or "Fists for Justice and Peace," arose in Shantung. Begun as an anti-dynastic movement, it was astutely turned into an anti-foreign attack. Spreading over the north-east, it was taken up by the court party and the dowager; many foreigners, mostly missionaries, were killed or officially executed, thousands of Chinese Christians were murdered, the foreign legations were destroyed, all save the British

Legation, which was besieged by the Chinese and relieved by the allied forces on August 14, 1900. Enormous suffering was caused in the north, but the south was kept in peace by the wisdom of high Chinese and Manchu officials; some such in the north had resisted to their death the Manchu insanity. The dowager fled, carrying off the emperor. She was later recalled and reinstituted.

In 1903 the Trans-Siberian Railway reached Port Arthur, menacing what Japan considered its interests. February, 1904, saw the Russo-Japanese War begun. Russia lost her Far Eastern fleet; then her Grand Fleet with 14,000 men was sunk by Admiral Togo. The Russian army, ill-found and worse led, was driven back, Korea became Japanese, also Russian rights in Southern Manchuria, and half of Saghalien. And this war was fought on China's territory. Even the Manchu court could no longer resist reform. In 1905-1906 edicts ordained that the educational system should be modernized, the Manchu garrisons disbanded, the army and navy reorganized, railways extended, opium suppressed, and the laws and Government revised. Provincial and local councils were established, and a National Advisory Council called to prepare for a National Parliament in 1915. The progressive spirit of the nation revealed itself in its willing acceptance of these reforms. Begun in 1906, the patriotic fight against opium culminated in 1910 with amazing success. One per cent. of this energy rightly applied a century earlier would have prevented the dreadful scourge.

On November 15, 1908, Kuang Hsü died, strangely enough the day before the empress-dowager's demise. His younger brother's infant son acceded as *Hsuan Tung* (1908-1912). "The Manchu Dynasty began with a child and a regent: it ended with a child and a regent." But what a difference between the virile Durgan and Prince Chun! "Every high office in Peking was soon filled with Manchu princes and

nobles with sharp appetites for the spoils of office." Suddenly an unseen cloud burst that swept away the dynasty and set up a republic for which there had been no preparation. Sun Yat-sen, a sincere revolutionary, gifted with powers of destruction, but of little beyond doctrinaire constructiveness, had for many years been preaching revolution, especially among and through the Chinese abroad, and with a price on his head. His life was saved by the English, as also had been that of the reformer K'ang Yu-wei. Seeing that the Manchus were not merely incompetent but foreigners in China, it was not difficult for him to stir the Chinese student class against them. He never sympathized with reform; revolution was his only doctrine. Yet revolution came as unexpectedly to him as it did to the Manchus. Railway trouble in Ssü-ch'uan led the way, but it was the accidental explosion on October 9, 1911, of a bomb in a revolutionary house at Hankow which compelled a body of military revolvers to save their lives by prompt action. Colonel Li Yuan-hung (later President of the Republic) was made leader, and the Yangtze was soon ablaze. The Manchu "pigtail" was discarded, many Manchus were massacred, and the revolt spread far and wide among the educated and military classes, while the people, when permitted, pursued their peaceful avocations. Yuan Shih-k'ai, the strong man of China, had been virtually dismissed from office by the regent, who considered that he had betrayed his brother, the late emperor, in 1898. Now the regent was driven to recall him to save the dynasty. Probably Yuan could have saved it, though ten of the provinces and the navy had declared for a republic. Instead, on February 11, 1912, he brought about Manchu abdication and the end of its reign, a reign for the main part covering the most glorious period in the annals of the country.

During the Manchu domination the empire reached its zenith, and also, save for the brief reign of Kublai Khan

the Mongol, its greatest territorial expanse. The peace it insured for 200 years gave the people opportunity for increase and prosperity. Never had the population been so vast, never so prosperous or content. Learning had every encouragement, and literary production was at its highest, if not at its most creative period, though ninety-seven per cent. of the people remained illiterate. Art, industry, trade, developed apace. The country was a vast fertile farm which employed over eighty per cent. of the people. The laws and their administration were, on the whole, more humane than before, though torture and the prisons revolted the modern European. It was the advent of the West, and the bringing of China into contact with other forms of civilization and energy, which disrupted old traditions, leaving an ignorant and conservative court at the mercy of reactionaries or revolutionaries. Nevertheless, the period is one of which Manchu and Chinese may well be proud.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REPUBLIC

THE Manchus, guilty for some of the ills of China, unjustly burdened with them all, had now gone, but the millennium delayed and delays its dawning. Intermediaries between Yuan Shih-k'ai and the southern party negotiated the terms of abdication and the outline of a republican Government, but the Republic did not know how to function. There was, indeed, no historical foundation for republicans to build upon, no preparation of either class or mass, no desire for it in the stolid north, and only the eagerness of enthusiasts in the south, whose experience was on paper. Nevertheless, the Republic had come and must be organized, for it had come to stay. Yuan was elected President in place of Sun Yat-sen, who resigned in

favour of his more powerful and more experienced rival. Yuan took the presidential oath in Peking on March 10, 1912, in the presence of representatives of the five united peoples—Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans—and under the five-coloured flag. He swore to be faithful to the Republic, devote himself to its realization, and to retire on the National Assembly appointing his successor. A Prime Minister, with a Cabinet of Ministers, was appointed, and the National Council, transferred from Nanking, was reinforced with northern members.

The first difficulty was, of course, the crucial one of finance. The Government could neither pay its troops nor conduct its affairs without funds. It sought for £10,000,000 from Chinese investors, but they lacked faith. The obtaining of loans from abroad became essential, and over this the Prime Minister fell into trouble, for, while negotiating with the Banking Consortium, he borrowed, without disclosure, from a third party. The interests of China and of the Consortium were fundamentally identical, for a scramble on the part of foreign moneylenders and the debasement of its credit would be as detrimental to the interests of China as of the foreign banks. The cry was for foreign loans without foreign supervision; as a national aspiration this was as commendable as was the sense of responsibility of the foreign bankers to their clients, who felt that, without adequate security, loans were not to be had.

Throughout the country queues were shorn from millions of heads; foreign clothing of any sort became fashionable; the solar year was adopted; Sunday became an official holiday; freedom from old restraints, even reasonable restraints, was demanded by the young; equality of education and of the suffrage was demanded by young women; and socialism was advocated by the followers of Sun Yat-sen. The President rewarded him with the office for railway development, and his principles led him to advocate

the very nationalization which had initiated the downfall of the late dynasty. His railway schemes were never realized.

Two parties were formed about this time, one representing the Revolutionaries, at first called the T'ung Men Hui, then the Kuo-min-tang, or Nationalists; the other representing the Reformers, at first known as the Kung-ho, then as the Chin-pu-tang, Reformers, or Progressives. The Nationalist, or Revolutionary, was Sun's party, the Reformers supported Yuan. During 1912 there was continual friction between the two parties, the legalist "National" party severely criticizing the actions of Yuan, the practical opportunist. Parliament was called for April, 1913. In the meantime certain *difficile* Nationalists were assassinated, including their nominee for the Premiership. The latter crime was definitely charged against Yuan. When Parliament met it was bitterly hostile to him, and the hostility was increased by his borrowing the £25,000,000 Reorganization Loan from the Consortium, without the direct assent of Parliament. But funds were essential, and the Nationalists had no means of providing him with home-grown wealth; indeed, a year previously they had themselves begun negotiations for alienating valuable rights to Japan in consideration for a loan. Moreover, the corruptibility of the members of Parliament did not add to their efficiency. In July, Yuan dismissed the revolutionary Governor of the Province of Kiangsi. Thereupon Sun Yat-sen declared another revolution to punish Yuan, but, instead of flocking to his standard, the country remained unmoved. After many had been slain and Nanking once more destroyed, Sun Yat-sen again sought safety in Japan, as also did various coadjutors who were members of Parliament. In October the requisite majority elected Yuan as President, with Li Yuan-hung as Vice-President.

When the Parliamentary Committee for drawing

up the constitution brought in its report severely limiting the President's authority, the military governors of the provinces urged the dissolution of Parliament. In November, Yuan proscribed the Kuo-min-tang, and in June, 1914, dissolved Parliament. He now selected an Advisory Board of seventy members from various provinces, and promulgated a constitution drawn up by a special convention, which virtually made him dictator for life, with power to appoint his successor. His rule was firm, his military governors kept order in the provinces, the recrudescence of opium was suppressed, education was fostered, government finances were improved, and trade prospered. One of the best indications of confidence in him was a domestic loan made by Chinese bankers.

The European War of 1914 brought disturbance to China. When Japan became one of the Allies, an attack was made, over Chinese territory, on the German concession at Kiaochow, and that port and other concessions formerly obtained from China by Germany were seized by Japan. Yuan protested, but the militarists who were in power in Japan resented his protests, and for this and other reasons, in June, 1915, made the now famous Twenty-one Demands in five sections. Though these were afterwards modified, they remained oppressive, and left behind a bitterness still unremoved. As the demands would have placed China in practical vassalage to Japan, Yuan refused his assent. Threatened, he surprised the West, busy with its war, by publishing the incredible details. America, in anxious isolation, made a mild intervention, but left Yuan to face and yield to an ultimatum from Japan. Unsupported and under compulsion, he agreed to four of the five sections, leaving the most humiliating section for further discussion. By his resistance Yuan had made himself an enemy of the party in power in Japan, and by signing aggrieved his people at home.

From the summer of 1915, Yuan's entourage began to manœuvre for an invitation to him from the nation to become emperor. Towards the end of the year a manipulated referendum demanded a constitutional monarchy. His Council urged his acceptance, and after the usual conventional refusals, he assented, and all preparations for his enthronement were duly made. Speedy defections among his responsible ministers and governors should have warned him. Yunnan was the first to revolt, but the Yangtze rulers, Yuan's men, offered no assistance in suppressing the revolt. His accession as monarch was thereupon postponed, and by the spring of 1916 so manifest was the opposition that the project was humiliatingly abandoned. Chagrin ended Yuan's life shortly after, and China was left leaderless.

Li Yuan-hung now became President. Parliament was again convoked, but when it produced an unacceptable draft constitution, was dismissed in June, 1917, by the northern *tuchuns*, or war-lords. In March, Chinese feeling was aroused by the Germans torpedoing the French steamer *Athos*, when 500 Chinese labourers were drowned. As the United States had in February severed relations with Germany, China followed suit on March 14. An attempt to restore the Manchu emperor in August was foiled by the attack on Peking of General Tuan Chi-rui. "The War-lords' Parliament," composed of their own nominees, assembled in August, 1918. As to the southern members of the former Parliament, they were called together in Canton as the "Constitutional Government," in which Sun Yat-sen took the leading part. Most of the southern provinces were now in revolt against Peking, but their own war-lords were too busy quarrelling among themselves to attack the north.

It would puzzle the reader, unversed in Chinese names, to follow the permutations and combinations of parties and the rise and fall of war-lords during the next few years, just as it puzzles an educated

Chinese to follow the changes of political parties and national rivalries in Europe. It is well to remember that China is as large as Europe with a larger population, and that for 650 years it had achieved a unity which was the envy of many in Europe. Its Government had lately formulated and was realizing an excellent programme of assured reform, until the Revolution split the country into fragments difficult to reassemble. Suffice it here that a southern war-lord expelled Sun Yat-sen and his Parliament from Canton. Some time later Canton was recaptured, and Sun returned to it from the safety of the Shanghai foreign settlement. In 1921, he was unconstitutionally elected "President of the Chinese Republic" in Canton by less than a quarter of the total membership of the National Parliament. As to the north, the War-lords' Parliament, sustained by borrowings from Japan, was the centre of unceasing struggle among parties for what was the mere semblance of power. Li Yuan-hung was again President in 1922, but next year retired once more to the safety of the Tientsin foreign settlement, his successor, Tsao Kun, having ousted him through the peaceful penetration of 15,000,000 dollars into the pockets of the M.P.s.

The rise to power of the ex-bandit chief, Chang Tso-lin, war-lord of the splendid territory of Manchuria; of Wu P'ei-fu, war-lord of Central China; of Fêng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General; of Sun Chuan-fang, lord of the Eastern Yangtze, and others, their influence on the Peking Parliament, their rivalries and wars, successes and defeats, would fill a book. In brief, Chang is still the dominant power in the north. Wu was betrayed by the sudden defection of Fêng with his army when fighting Chang, and heavily defeated. Chang then became supreme as far south as Shanghai. He invited Sun Yat-sen to Peking to negotiate a national settlement. Sun went north in December, was taken ill, and died in Peking, March 12, 1925, "his deathbed message enjoining the Kuo-

min-tang to continue to work with the Soviet." Sun Chuan-fang in 1925 seized the Eastern Yangtze, driving out Chang's men. Chang then united with his old enemy, Wu, to expel Fêng, who withdrew far westward.

Meanwhile Moscow had been busy. Joffe was sent in 1922, lectured in universities and colleges, and influenced the intelligentsia. Karakhan succeeded him in 1923, and secured recognition of the U.S.S.R. in 1924 by renouncing all special rights and privileges, including extra-territoriality and consular jurisdiction. Intensive Communist propaganda was carried on north and south amongst students and politicians. Fêng Yu-hsiang, who had also been driven into the open arms of Moscow through lack of military supplies, received material aid from them "in exchange for the Soviet's right to spread propaganda" in his armies and the provinces he then controlled. Scores of Russian-trained propagandists also proceeded to the chief industrial cities, with Shanghai as their centre. Michael Borodin became adviser to the southern Government in Canton, and by training its military officers, supplying arms and officers, and introducing the Soviet system with its Machiavellian propaganda, secured a powerful foothold amongst both moderates and extremists. On May 30, 1925, an unfortunate incident occurred in the Shanghai Settlement, when, after a riot in a Japanese factory and the arrest of some Chinese agitators, nine students were shot and killed during an attack on the Louza Police Station. The outcry which followed, and the boycott of British goods, enhanced Borodin's powers. The Shanghai police were those of the international settlement, but the officials actually in charge were British subjects. A later judicial inquiry held them guiltless, but the anti-British agitation was so unscrupulously conducted that British trade came almost to a standstill, and serious riots occurred in the interior. At Canton the Russian-trained cadets fired on the British Concession,

killing one foreigner and wounding others; the fire was returned, when several Chinese were killed. The British Government and people, sympathizing with the Chinese in their struggle for self-government, steadily maintained a policy of peaceful conciliation. They saw only a suffering people struggling for liberty. Even the advance northward of the Russian-directed Cantonese forces in July, 1926, the fall of Changsha and of Wuchang, and the attack on and surrender of the British Concession at Hankow left them sympathetic, but anxious. The threat to Shanghai made them realize the necessity for self-defence, and troops were sent there in the early part of 1927. That they did not arrive too soon is revealed by the outrages committed by the Nationalist army when Nanking fell on March 24.

A three-sided struggle is at present proceeding, in which Chang Tso-lin, the anti-Communist, and Fêng Yu-hsiang, the Communist, are separately attacking the so-called "moderate," Chiang Kai-shek, whose army holds Shanghai and the eastern provinces. Other war-lords await the issue, among them Yen Hsi-shan, Governor of "the model Province" of Shensi, who has so far maintained the integrity and prosperity of his province, thanks in no small measure to his fine staff of University men trained there and in Britain by British teachers.

The success of the Nationalist army over Wu P'ei-fu and other war-lords has been due less to fighting than to the defection of their erstwhile military supporters, brought about by promises and anti-foreign propaganda, unhampered by truth or moral scruple. Its strength lies in the fact that it has a principle to offer in the shape of a plausible nationalist programme, whereas the war-lords have proved powerless to end the ills of the nation, and seem to seek only their own ends at whatever suffering to the people. As to the policy of non-intervention on the part of foreign Governments, while it may have been necessary, it has

left the field to the extremists and given the impression, however incorrect, that Western nations are only concerned with their profits.

The greater causes of the present distress may be found, primarily, in the economic failure to meet the needs of a vast increase in the population; in the century-long failure of the ruling classes, Chinese and Manchu, to accept the fact of a changing environment and the wisdom of adaptation to it; in the attempt to create a republic for which neither people nor leaders had any previous training or programme; in the total failure to establish a republic through the rigidity of the doctrinaire mind and also the rivalry and strife of war-lords little interested in civil government; and in the students' justifiable revolt against these war-lords, arising out of a commendable patriotic spirit, which has been organized and exploited in the interests of Soviet Communism. These are the domestic causes. As to the anti-foreign outcry, so far as Britain is concerned it arises from treaties at first obtained by force from the Manchu Government, but confirmed and amplified by many other treaties, peaceably negotiated, through later decades. The principal points in them which are considered as infringing on China's "sovereign rights" may be expressed in the words "extra-territoriality" and "tariffs." Extra-territoriality means two principal things. Firstly, it means that the foreigner in China is not subject to the laws of China, but to the laws of his own land, the reason for this being that Chinese laws and administration have not heretofore been considered sufficiently just or humane. Secondly, it means that a few of the trading settlements are also independent of Chinese administration. It was not the wish of foreigners to dwell in settlements; they would have preferred reciprocal treatment: in other words, the same liberty of residence and trade which the Chinese possess here in England. But the Chinese Government preferred to segregate them by leasing them land, outside

certain towns, and to this leased land the foreign trader's establishment was and is confined. So great has been the development of these relatively small territories, and so much greater the sense of order and security which they give, that Chinese ministers and wealthy men have built costly mansions in them, in which, and in the banks there, they deposit much of their wealth. Indubitably there are certain objectionable complications arising out of this system, which may either be ended by reciprocal treatment or by revision of the treaties to meet modern conditions; but the Powers have found it difficult to make such revision in the absence of a responsible Chinese Government. As to the tariffs, the Maritime Customs was founded by the British, French, and Americans in Shanghai as a temporary measure, during the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, because the imperial officials had fled. So honourably was it conducted, and so unused were the Chinese to the control of modern shipping, that, when the rebellion was over, the British head of the Maritime Customs was invited to Peking, and the collection of duties in the foreign trading settlements was placed under his care, then and now as a paid servant of the Chinese Government. Sir Robert Hart devoted his whole life to its service, and not only organized the fine Customs service, but lighted, buoyed, and charted the coast and the rivers, founded the national postal service, did much other valuable work, and remained the faithful friend and wise adviser of the Government for half a century. Sir Francis Aglen succeeded him and loyally maintained the traditions of the service. Sir Richard Dane at a later period admirably organized the Salt Gabelle. These two services have hitherto been considered reliable pledges for loans made to China, and their respective foreign heads, as servants of the Chinese Government, dispose of the income, not at their own will, but strictly according to the Government's instruction. Nevertheless, through treaties with

various nations, the Chinese Government has limited its freedom to raise its tariffs at will. If the consumer pays, such restriction is at present only a disadvantage to rival war-lords, certainly not to the people.

Another cause of anti-foreign feeling, not unjustifiable, lies in the scramble by the foreign Powers in the nineties for concessions and spheres of influence, and the fear of partition amongst those Powers. Later came the lack of support by the Allies at Versailles in regard to the request of China that the demands made by Japan should be recognized as not binding, and the consequent refusal of China to sign the treaty. Further estrangement was caused by the delay in acting on the decisions of the Washington Conference of 1921, due to difficulties which arose, chiefly with France over the question of the rate of exchange in payment of the Boxer indemnity.

That the anti-foreign outburst should have been directed almost entirely against England is due to the fact that this country was for long the most prominent foreign nation in China, and is still, Japan apart, economically the most vulnerable; to a virulent Bolshevik anti-English campaign; to our aloofness and strict policy of "keeping the ring," or non-intervention; to the fact that the deplorable shooting of May 30, 1925, however justifiable, was by the direction of a police inspector who was British; also, unintentionally, to American teaching of history; and not least to criticism, true but persistent, of certain British writers and journalists in China. Nevertheless, in view of the sincere good feeling which exists in this country towards China, the justice which its official representatives there have endeavoured to show, the uprightness of its traders, and the services that have been willingly rendered by a large body of fine-spirited men, it is reasonable to believe that a return to a more friendly attitude will not be long delayed.

During the fifteen years of the "Republic," despite the turmoil and chaos which have existed in almost

every province, progress has not ceased. If war was proceeding in one part, other parts were for a time in peace. Moreover, the main railway lines, while losing most of their value for commercial purposes, have limited the area of fighting in great part to their near neighbourhood. Civil war has seriously hindered, but not wholly stopped, either educational work or literary output. The mind of China has never been so independent or free from the fetters of the past. Liberty may have run to licence, but that is temporary. It is the foreign trained students, separated during their formative years from the old traditions, who have led the way in criticism and destruction as well as in constructive work. The modern industrial system with its huge factories has begun its development, providing for the needs of millions, but with conditions of long hours, woman and child labour, and often unhygienic surroundings. Of the 120 mills and workshops around Shanghai, three only are British, forty-five Japanese, and the rest Chinese. Railway building has made little progress, but only awaits peace for large extension. Banks have increased in number and influence. Trade has grown, both externally and internally, as the Customs increasing revenue bears witness. Women are ceasing to cripple their feet, and in consequence have a carriage and a courage unknown in the past.

The advent of the West has stirred the East to a changed order. Seed has been sown by trader, by teacher, by missionary, by philanthropist—mostly good seed. The harvest is not yet, but it should be a good harvest if the prevailing cult of hatred can be displaced by the happier and more profitable cult of goodwill.

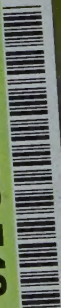
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